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from
Russia

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SECOND EDITION

Clash in Galilee — two IDF men die

A long, hot summer in S. Lebanon

Infiltrators sought civilian hostages

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Post Defence Reporter

Israel and its allies in Southern Lebanon are probably in for a period of increased enemy attacks in the form of shellings, attempted penetrations and other operations similar to those waged in the past few days, military sources believe. This prospect is partly a result of the present Palestine National Council in Algiers and the movement of Syrian troops into West Beirut and down to the Awali River. The answer is likely to be IDF and South Lebanese Army attacks against Palestinian and Shi'ite targets.

Palestinians in South Lebanon's two main refugee camps braced yesterday for more Israeli reprisal raids after the first PLO operation inside Galilee in seven years.

Witnesses said PLO terrorists with anti-aircraft weapons spread out into orange groves around the big Ein Hilweh camp near Sidon and were on alert in Rashidiya near Tyre.

Israeli helicopter gunships raided Rashidiya on Sunday in Israel's first response to the infiltration. Witnesses said one woman was killed and five people injured. The helicopters all returned safely, the IDF spokesman reported.

The Fatah's previous penetration attempt was foiled last July 10, just north of Rosh Hanikra, when four of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIBBUTZ MANARA. — The three terrorists killed in a clash with IDF troops in Galilee on Sunday intended taking civilian hostages to bargain for the release of security prisoners in Israeli jails, military sources say.

The IDF soldiers, Sagen Yoav Sharon, 21, from Haifa and Samal-Rishon Asaf Alon, 20, from Arad, were killed in the shootout with the terrorists.

The sources said the operation by members of the PLO's Fatah group had evidently been timed to coincide with the opening in Algiers yesterday of the Palestine National Council meeting, the PLO's parliament-in-exile.

PLO sources announced yesterday that one of those killed in the operation was the commander of Fatah's forces in South Lebanon.

The recent wave of terrorist activity continued with Katyusha shelling after midnight on Sunday when three rockets exploded near the Christian township of Marjayoun inside the security zone in South Lebanon. A fourth fell in northern Galilee at the same time. No injuries or damage were caused.

The infiltration by the terrorists in the early hours of Sunday morning was the first successful penetration of Israel from across the Lebanese border in seven years.

The terrorists made their attempt under cover of darkness and were helped by a thick fog which blanketed the area.

They crossed the border near Kibbutz Manara after first cutting a hole in the security fence and then made their way inland.

According to a letter found on the body of one of the terrorists, they had intended to capture civilian hostages and use them to bargain for the release of Palestinians held in Israeli prisons.

Thousands of people, including many families with young children, have been touring the region recently, taking advantage of the Pessah holiday and the pleasant spring weather.

The alarm was raised after an IDF patrol spotted the hole in the fence and the tracks of the intruders. Within minutes all the forces in the region were put on maximum alert and the search for the terrorists was launched.

The intruders apparently used various tactics to try confuse their pursuers. IDF troops encircled the area where the terrorists were thought to have gone to ground and slowly moved in, tightening the noose.

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After his first general staff meeting, Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Dan Shomron visits the site on Sunday where two soldiers were killed by terrorists. (Michael Tsarfati/IDF spokesman)

PNC meeting

Arafat's big victory — PLO unified

Post Middle East Staff
and agencies

ALGIERS. — PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, reunited with two hardline rivals after a four-year schism, opened the 18th session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) yesterday with a call for a Palestine homeland "with Jerusalem as its capital."

Arafat had finally bowed to hardliners' conditions for reconciliation on Sunday by formally scrapping a 1985 agreement with Jordan's King Hussein on a joint peace negotiating strategy with Israel.

The PLO's former rival organizations "now all stand together, united until the final liberation of Palestine," Arafat declared to wildly cheering PNC delegates.

But Arafat also backed proposals for an international Middle East peace conference provided that the PLO takes part "as an independent delegation on equal footing with other parties."

"We will maintain our armed struggle against Israel, not because we seek war, but because we want peace, a just and comprehensive peace on the basis of the Palestinian right to self-determination and to an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital," Arafat declared.

Arafat and other PLO leaders made no direct reference to a PLO raid early Sunday near Kibbutz Manara in Upper Galilee in which three terrorists and two IDF soldiers were killed. The raid, the first PLO operation inside northern Israel in seven years, appeared timed to coincide with the opening of the PNC conference. (See related story.)

The PNC, the Palestinian parliament-in-exile, began its session in the heavily-guarded Club des Pins conference centre, 24 kilometres west of Algiers, in a personal triumph for Arafat for bringing two of the PLO's largest rival factions back into the PLO fold.

Leaders of the two factions, George Izbash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and Nayef Hawatmeh of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, were among the more than 2,000 PNC delegates, officials and observers. A standing ovation greeted Arafat's entrance to the conference hall, hand-in-hand with Algerian President Chadli Benjedid, who had served as a mediator between the factions.

Arafat's decision to scrap the two-year-old "Amman Accord" with King Hussein on Arab-Israeli peace moves represented a significant concession to his more militant opponents.

The action precludes a possible PLO accommodation with President Ronald Reagan's Middle East peace strategy that called for Palestinian autonomy "in association with Jordan." Arafat's opponents had charged that PLO policy had moved too close to U.S.-inspired peace plans.

But Arafat stood firm against

Shamir's angry response

"Today, our enemies are meeting to harm us and, heaven forbid, rob Jerusalem from us. But the people of Israel are strong and united and this plot will not be carried out." Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said last night.

Speaking at the Mimouna festival opening he said in reaction to the PNC meeting in Algiers. "We will overcome all our enemies. Jerusalem will remain Israel's capital forever."



PLO leader Yasser Arafat addresses the Palestine National Council yesterday.



PLO leader Yasser Arafat addresses the Palestine National Council yesterday.

Shi'ites rob Unifil troops

By DAVID RUDGE

ROSH HANIKRA. — Shi'ite extremists held up Finnish Unifil soldiers and looted their position near the Litani River early on Saturday morning *The Jerusalem Post* learned yesterday.

The gunmen, believed to be members of the radical Hizbullah (Party of God), raided the post, near the Akiva Bridge, under cover of an aborted attempt by their compatriots to storm South Lebanese Army and IDF positions at the nearby village of Kantara. Eighteen of the Hizbullah gunmen were killed in the Kantara attack.

Most of the Unifil troops in the region had been ordered to take cover in their bomb shelters during the heavy fighting. Two soldiers and their guard dog were left on sentry duty at the bridge.

Unifil spokesman Timor Goksel said that a car, apparently containing civilians, approached the bridge. The Finnish soldiers were trying to stop the vehicle when five armed men jumped out and overpowered them. The

gunmen killed the guard dog.

The gunmen were later joined by reinforcements, and, using the two sentries as hostages, forced their way into the nearby Unifil post, where another 12 Finnish soldiers were taking cover.

The soldiers in the position were forced to lay down their weapons, which the gunmen gathered up.

Goksel said that the raiders also took two field radios, leaving the Unifil men without any communications equipment, and stole personal belongings, including large quantities of cash, cameras and other property.

On leaving, the gunmen shot out the tyres of the Unifil truck to prevent pursuit and the raising of the alarm.

It was only several hours later, when the troops failed to answer a radio communique, that the incident was discovered.

None of the Finnish soldiers was injured. Unifil is now trying to track down the perpetrators and recover the stolen property.

Shomron: 'We'll pay the price for budget cuts'

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Post Defence Reporter

Moments after being promoted to the rank of rav aluf (Lt. general) and becoming the IDF's 13th chief of general staff, Dan Shomron urged the government to remember that if it cut his budget too drastically, Israel might pay the price in wartime.

"We've got to remember that," he told cabinet ministers and members of the General Staff in the prime minister's conference room at the ceremony in which he took over from former CGS Moshe Levy.

During his term as CGS, Levy contented with the shrunken budget by cutting back on training and firing thousands of career men and civilian workers.

But Shomron, who has a reputation for speaking his mind, made it clear that the ministers should not think of security mainly in terms of

its share of the budget.

"It is very difficult to quantify the budget saved when there is relative quiet," he said. "It's quiet because of our deterrent capability, but in wartime we'll pay the price for what's missing."

Addressing the effect cut-backs have had on morale, Shomron said it was "our duty" to see to it that those serving in the IDF "don't feel like friers (suckers)."

In a brief message to Levy, Premier Shamir noted that the public "has learned to know you, as well balanced, responsible, true to your principles, and caring about soldiers."

Shamir recalled Shomron's record on the front line during the Six Day War, the War of Attrition, the Yom Kippur War and the 1976 raid on Entebbe, which "gives us confidence that you will successfully fill the role with which you are charged today."

Doubt over Soviet consular visit

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
and agencies

Israel has received no messages from the Soviet Union either cancelling the prospective Soviet consular visit to Israel or expressing a renewed interest in carrying it out, Foreign Ministry sources said last night.

The ministry sources were commenting on news agency reports from Kuwait quoting a senior Soviet official as saying that Moscow has cancelled the prospective consular delegation's visit to Israel.

Speaking on Sunday at a news conference at the close of a four-day visit to Kuwait, the first stop on a

tour of the Gulf region, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky said that Moscow had cancelled the visit because Israel had used the trip for propaganda.

Petrovsky also said Moscow did not plan to re-establish ties with Israel unless Israel withdrew from territory conquered in 1967.

"Our relationship will not resume until Israel announces its withdrawal from all occupied Arab countries, and announces its agreement to an international peace conference," he said.

Ministry sources said that the text of the Soviet official's remarks had not yet reached Jerusalem nor had

any message to the same effect, so it was "difficult" to react.

From Israel's point of view, the sources added, the situation remained as it was following the meeting in Washington a month ago between Israeli ambassador Meir Rosenne and the Soviet embassy's chargé d'affaires in Washington. At that meeting the Soviets expressed an interest in sending such a delegation to look over Soviet property holdings in Israel.

Petrovsky was quoted as saying yesterday in Abu Dhabi that the international peace conference was unlikely to be held in 1987, but might possibly take place next year.

Argentina mutineers surrender

BUENOS AIRES (AP). — President Raul Alfonsín's government yesterday accepted the resignation of Argentine Army Chief of Staff Gen. Hector Rios Erenu, a day after the end of a three-day revolt by mutinous soldiers demanding his ouster.

Alfonsín's dramatic flight to the rebellion site inside Campo de Mayo on Easter Sunday resulted in the surrender of 150 mutinous army officers.

Defence Minister Horacio Jaunarena replaced Rios Erenu, the government communique said.

Rios Erenu had not been seen publicly since Sunday, when Alfonsín told 400,000 cheering people massed in Plaza de Mayo here of the rebels' surrender.

Since peace talks with the mutinous soldiers broke down late Saturday, unconfirmed reports had circulated that Rios Erenu would resign and Jaunarena would replace him.

However, as late as yesterday morning, presidential spokesman Jose Lopez continued to deny that Rios Erenu had resigned.

The rebels demanded that Rios Erenu be

replaced. He had angered officers accused of human rights abuses under former military governments that ruled from 1976-83 by ordering them to testify in court.

Some 250 officers face charges in connection with human rights excesses that left at least 9,000 people dead, according to the government. Human rights groups put the number killed at about 30,000.

Rios Erenu had been head of the army's 60,000 troops since his appointment by Alfonsín on March 4, 1985. He was the fourth army Chief of Staff under the Alfonsín administration, which has been in office since December, 1983.

Jaunarena, a civilian, is considered a temporary replacement until another senior military officer can be named to replace Rios Erenu.

The mutineers and their leader, cashiered Lt. Col. Aldo Rico, 41, were taken into custody Sunday from the Pedro Aramburu infantry school at suburban Campo de Mayo, which they had occupied since Thursday, Jaunarena said.

Alfonsín said the mutineers would be "detained and processed" according to law.



Argentine President Raul Alfonsín.

The Post Diplomatic correspondent adds: Argentina Sunday expressed its appreciation for Foreign Minister Peres's message of encouragement to the Alfonsín regime. The several message, sent Saturday night, praised the regime's efforts to preserve democracy in Argentina.

In his response, Foreign Minister Dante Caputo expressed appreciation for Peres's message which arrived during "the critical days" (of the mutiny).

Soviets rebut U.S. charges on human rights

WASHINGTON. — The Soviet Union has escalated its human rights counter-offensive in a meeting with American officials in Moscow, responding to charges of Soviet human rights abuses with accusations that the U.S. harbours criminals.

The Washington Post reported

yesterday that when Steny Hoyer and the congressional delegation gave Soviet officials a list of 1,400 cases of political prisoners and Soviet Jews who want to emigrate, the officials handed back a list of 14 Nazi war criminals whom they said the U.S. was protecting.

Former Prisoner of Zion Lev Elbert and his wife Inna stopped their hunger strike in Moscow over the weekend after a Soviet Interior Ministry official told them their file had been given to a special commission set up by the Supreme Soviet.

The Elberts, who fasted for 46

days, were told that they would receive a definite answer in three weeks on their resubmitted application to emigrate for Israel. Another prominent refusenik, Leonid (Eli) Yuzefovitch, is meanwhile continuing his protest fast, now in its 31st day.

18 slain in Sri Lanka

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka. — Tamil militants yesterday killed at least 18 Sinhalese villagers in the same area of eastern Sri Lanka where 127 people were massacred last week, the government media centre announced.

Five women were among the dead in the village of Vannela, 30 kilometres southwest of the port of Trincomalee.

Opposition leader Sirima Bandaranaike yesterday accused the government of incompetence.

Changes in China recall purges of yore

By JONATHAN MIRSKEY

BEIJING. — Four months ago thousands of Beijing University students marched 16 kilometres to this city's Central Square where Mao Zedong lies embalmed in his crystal sarcophagus. When they passed the leaders' headquarters in the Forbidden City, they sang the Internationale and shouted "Up with Deng Xiaoping."

Now on the campus noticeboards where the students once pasted up their wall posters, all that is left are little scraps of paper blowing in the wind.

There is a cool political wind blowing across

the face of China. Those who have felt these gusts before fear it may turn colder. Intellectuals are already feeling the chill and the rest of the population waits to see the results of the party congress in October when a new Central Committee and Politburo will settle the country's future for the next five years.

It must be said at once that no matter what happens here no one believes there can be another Cultural Revolution. During the months since January 16, when Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang was forced to resign, accused of permitting the bourgeois liberalism which galvanized the students, and which the

party equates with something very like treason, there has been no "smashing" of enemies, no sweeping public humiliations, no torture, killing or mass deportations into political exile.

The present leadership — Deng himself, Premier Zhao, who also holds the party reins, and the toughest of the conservatives — all suffered during the Cultural Revolution and want no more of that. The current struggle is largely a top-level political one about the importance of ideological purity versus economic modernization.

But certain familiar aspects of past struggles

have reappeared. They remind everyone here of purges reaching back as far as 35 years ago.

Hu Yaobang, although formally still on the Politburo, is becoming a non-person. Technicians at the television studios in Beijing since his image from films even when they show him in the years of his political power. (But master-films are preserved in case Hu makes a comeback, as Chinese leaders, including Deng, have done before.) "Of course, it's all a lie," says a technician at Central Television. "They want everything to be beautiful. No one believes anything they say anyway."

(Continued on Page 3)



The last remaining condor in the wild, AC9, was captured on Sunday and brought to the San Diego Wild Animal Park.

(Reuter/UPI)

The weather at major Swissair destinations

	20.4.87	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	10	13	14	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	10	13	14	Cloudy
BUCENOSAIRES	10	13	14	Cloudy
CHICAGO	10	13	14	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	10	13	14	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	10	13	14	Cloudy
GENEVA	10	13	14	Cloudy
HELSINKI	10	13	14	Cloudy
HONG KONG	10	13	14	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	10	13	14	Cloudy
LONDON	10	13	14	Cloudy
MADRID	10	13	14	Cloudy
MONTREAL	10	13	14	Cloudy
NEW YORK	10	13	14	Cloudy
OSLO	10	13	14	Cloudy
PARIS	10	13	14	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	10	13	14	Cloudy
SAN PAULO	10	13	14	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	10	13	14	Cloudy
TOKYO	10	13	14	Cloudy
ZURICH	10	13	14	Cloudy

For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.
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Haifa: 25 Haifa Road Tel. 04-251373
Be'er Sheva: 33 Haifa St. Tel. 05-352282
Cairo: Ben Gurion Airport Tel. 03-9712151

THE WEATHER

Forecast: Clear to partly cloudy.

Jerusalem	Haifa	Be'er Sheva	Eilat
48	5-16	19	18
59	6-16	18	17
66	12-23	24	24
47	10-24	26	26
55	9-17	19	19
45	8-16	20	20
42	12-20	23	23
56	8-20	22	22
36	10-26	26	26
45	12-19	21	21
45	10-20	24	24
21	15-26	30	30

Post reporter enters Jordan

AMMAN, Jordan (AP). — A Jerusalem Post reporter barred from an earlier trip to Jordan said yesterday he had met with senior government officials during five days here.

The Jordanians refused to allow Wolf Blitzer, Washington Correspondent for The Post into the country last summer during a visit by U.S. vice president George Bush to Jordan when Bush was on a Middle-East tour.

Blitzer said his current visit was "a great professional opportunity because I've been covering the Middle East for many years and I've never been to Jordan. I felt at the time of the Bush visit the Jordanian government was prepared to let me in, but some of Bush's advance people in Amman blew it."

Blitzer said the Jordanian people he met were "very friendly, very nice, they went out of their way to make me very comfortable. It's hard for me to see any great political significance" to the trip, he added.

Begin feels better

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Former prime minister Menachem Begin was reportedly feeling better last night and his doctors hope that he will be released from Shaare Zedek Hospital within the next few days, a hospital spokesman said.

Begin, who was admitted to the urology department last Wednesday for what was described as "general weakness," underwent a long series of examinations that continued through Sunday.

Shaare Zedek spokesman Elhanan Pels did not describe the tests or give an exact date for Begin's release. He said only that doctors hoped to allow the former premier to return home soon.

Pollard defence fund at \$186,000

The local "Citizens for the Pollards" group has raised \$186,000 to help pay the legal expenses of Jonathan Jay Pollard and his wife Anne Henderson-Pollard, Israel TV reported last night.

Most of this sum has already been transferred to the Pollards' lawyer in the U.S., and the group has wound up its campaign, the report said.

Demjanjuk trial resumes today

The trial of John Demjanjuk is to resume this morning at 8:30, following a 12-day break for Pessah.

Demjanjuk's son left Cleveland for Israel on Sunday to return in time for the trial's reopening. John Demjanjuk Jr., 21, has attended his father's trial for crimes against the Jewish people in the Treblinka concentration camp since the case opened on February 16.

Hit-run victim dies of injuries

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A soldier, Eli Levy, 19, of Bnei Brak died on Sunday after being run over by a hit-and-run taxi driver a week-and-a-half ago. The driver, Yosef Elias, 61, of Or Yehuda, gave himself up to police on Friday and was released on bail on Sunday.

Levy was waiting for a lift at the soldiers' hitch-hiking shelter at the Gush-Tel Hashomer junction when Elias's car swerved off the road, struck him down and sped off.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

PROTESTS IN GAZA

Teenager shot in Khan Yunis

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

IDF soldiers shot and wounded a Palestinian teenager in Khan Yunis on Sunday night after they were surrounded by rioting protesters, a military spokesman reported. He said two fire bombs were thrown at another patrol but missed the soldiers.

Earlier Sunday, troops clubbed students while breaking up protests at the Islamic College in Gaza and the neighbouring Unrwa vocational centre. Students on the campuses had hurled stones at the soldiers, burned an Israeli flag and raised Palestinian flags.

Troops surrounding the schools entered the campuses and forcibly evicted the students, six of whom were injured in the process. A soldier was hurt when a stone struck him in the head. Dozens of students were arrested and the Islamic College, the largest in the territories with 5,000 students, was ordered closed for a week.

In Khan Yunis, soldiers surrounded by protesters used tear gas and then shot in the air to disperse the crowd before opening fire at the legs of the demonstrators, wounding one in the leg. Earlier, a youth was burned in the hand as he hurled two firebombs at soldiers, the spokesman said.

Troops later dispersed crowds of protesters in Gaza and demonstrations were reported in other Gaza Strip locations. While stores in downtown Gaza were shuttered yesterday, an attempt to firebomb a parked Israeli car was foiled when a

local shopkeeper put out the blaze, the spokesman reported.

In the West Bank, IDF troops blocked a pro-PLO rally at the Islamic College in Hebron after more than 100 students from the Hebron Polytechnic left-classes and joined the meeting.

At the Balata refugee camp near Nablus, troops dispersed about 100 youths who had barricaded a highway bypassing the camp and hurled stones. Pupils at the Kadri Touqan school burned tires but fled when troops arrived.

The Civil Administration delayed the distribution of Palestinian newspapers in the territories on Sunday to check for censorship violations. The *Al-Nahar* Sunday issue was banned after it published an uncensored statement by PLO supporters condemning the security crackdown in the territories, including university closures and administrative detentions.

The condition of an Islamic College student shot and wounded last week at Kiryat Arba remains serious though there is no danger to his life, a police spokesman said. He said police were waiting to question the youth, who was shot as he approached the gate of the settlement shouting *Allahu Akbar* and carrying a Koran. The settlement's guard opened fire wounding him in the chest.

The unrest in the territories earlier this month began during a hunger strike by Palestinian security prisoners. It has also been linked to the current meeting of the Palestine National Council and the killing last week of a Bir Zeit University student in a clash with IDF troops.

Fire-bomb victims moved

ALFEI MENASHE (Itim). — Nir Moses, 13, and his friend Yossi Hill-el, 14, who were injured in a fire-bomb attack here 10 days ago, were moved to the burns unit of Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva on Pessah eve from the Meir Hospital.

The two boys are expected to be operated upon for their severe burns at the end of the week.

Nir's mother, Ofra, was killed in the attack.

Tal Moses, 8, is improving and speaks with visitors in Beilinson Hospital.

At a memorial meeting held on Sunday morning at Alfei Menashe, most of the speakers demanded the death sentence for terrorists and more settlement in the West Bank.

Among the hundreds of mourners were Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin and MK Elihu Ben-Eliassar.

100,000 visit Eilat

Holiday-goers clog roads from Negev

By BRADLEY BURSTON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — After seven days of unrelenting rain and coconut macaroons, tens of thousands of Israelis vacationing in the Negev ground their way through the desert yesterday in a mammoth caravan that slowed traffic as far north as Beersheba and then on towards the centre of the country.

Police sources indicated yesterday that the volume of holiday traffic was especially heavy this year. An estimated 70,000 Israelis visited Eilat in the first two days of Pessah alone, and the total for the week was said to have been well over 100,000.

Ironically, one police source said yesterday, the heavy traffic may have helped to reduce serious accidents at the close of the Passover holiday, since drivers were unable to attain the high speeds often responsible for fatalities on the Arava highway.

However, three people were severely injured and three lightly injured in two related accidents early Sunday morning on the Yad Mordechai-Nir Am road. The injured, one in serious condition, were hospitalized at Ashdod's Barzilai Hospital.

In Eilat yesterday the atmosphere was that of a circus reluctantly closing after a successful run.

As in past years, normally robust beer sales declined sharply this week as many vacationers observed Pessah dietary prohibitions. But one sandwich restaurant, apparently catering to a non-kosher clientele, offered an array of pork products between slices of matza.

Officials at the Taba border crossing into Egypt yesterday reported a marked increase in the numbers of Israelis visiting coastal Sinai over the holidays. Israeli tourism to the area came to a virtual standstill after the Succot 1985 Ras Burka incident.

Mimouna celebration — a display of unity

By HAIM SHAPIRO
The Mimouna is the holiday of national unity, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir told a crowd at the Kiryat Menahem Histadrut Centre last night.

Braving chill winds that swept across the centre's sports field during what had been billed as one of the "official openings" of the traditional North African holiday, the crowd mingled good-naturedly for over an hour as they waited for the prime minister to appear.

When he did, shaking hands and greeting bystanders, he told them that "the entire people of Israel have taken over the holiday." It is a holiday that calls upon us to "eliminate all dissension and strife and all that divides us," he said.

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, who noted that this year's Mimouna holiday also comes close to the 20th anniversary of the unification of Jerusalem, recalled that during the year before the 1967 unification, the number of people at the first public

Mimouna holiday was less than 10 per cent of that in Kiryat Menahem last night.

This proves, he said, that the holiday is no longer just for the Jews of Morocco, but of the entire nation.

The crowd at the community centre also showed that the holiday has changed from a festival celebrated at home to one celebrated outdoors.

One elegantly dressed young woman at the gathering recalled that her mother used to spend hours preparing food for guests. She herself, she said, would rather go out.

Vendors at the site did a lively business in *pivot*, which are forbidden during Pessah. Only the soft-drink sellers, largely ignored in the bitter cold, seemed disappointed.

At another "official opening" at the Citadel in the Old City of Jerusalem, Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres was the honoured guest. Today, Mimouna celebrations are being held all over the country, with the central fete at Jerusalem's Sacher Park.



Chief of General Staff Dan Shomron getting the epaulettes of his new rank (lieutenant-general) at his installation ceremony. (Media/Emblat)

Famous Gaza name belongs to a new face

By BRADLEY BURSTON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

GAZA. — "Be careful not to get confused," Issam Shawwa cautions visitors who ask for direction to his house off Shawwa Square in the Gaza Strip's sprawling, congested capital city. As he goes on to explain with a measure of quiet pride in his polite, careful English, there are no fewer than three Shawwa Squares within the city limits, ample testimony to his family's considerable standing in Gaza's political and economic circles.

Issam Shawwa's uncle Rashad, in fact, has been the focus of international attention for a number of years, most recently as a widely touted candidate for a possible joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to Mideast peace talks.

So prominent is Rashad Shawwa that last week, when rumours began to circulate that a member of the Shawwa family was being considered for the important and politically sensitive post of Gaza mayor, at least two foreign journalists incorrectly identified the elder statesman as the candidate.

But it is nephew Issam himself who is said to be favoured by a rare coalition of Jordanian, PLO, and Israeli leaders to head Gaza's problematic municipality.

An engineer and an attorney by profession, Shawwa's foremost qualification for the mayoral post may be his knack for walking tightrope of factional coexistence.

"I happen to be entirely neutral politically," he maintains. "I belong to no party, no group, and have no political aspirations. I have no objections to serving as mayor if the residents of Gaza ask me and the government agrees. But as far as affiliation is concerned, I am a Palestinian Arab Moslem who believes that his people have been here for 700 years and hopes to be in this place until he dies; someone who believes very strongly in the possibility of peace, and of successful coexistence."

Shawwa, 51-year-old, is a new face in Palestinian politics, but he is not stranger to public life. He has worked on UN projects in India and elsewhere, and has close ties to numerous influential figures, notably

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Jordan's King Hussein. But perhaps more significant than the list of Shawwa's friends is the number of regional leaders and factions who are not his enemies. From the standpoint of sheer physical survival, unquestionably the most important of these is the PLO.

Local PLO sources have made it known that the organization would not oppose Shawwa's candidacy were it to be approved by the Civil Administration and other Israeli government bodies. Shawwa, for his part, while he endorses neither the organization nor its policies, flatly states: "I would hope the PLO supports me, since, in a sense, all Palestinians are the PLO. Some are belligerent, some are peaceful."

In Shawwa's view, peace lovers abound on both sides of the Israel-Palestine conflict, "and my great hope is that people such as Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Navon, Yossi Sarid, and Ora Namir will become more in number. On our side, also, we have a similar trend, but many of our people who feel this way are scattered all over the world."

Asked to identify Gaza's major problems, the lawyer in Shawwa gives way to the engineer. "Speaking for myself only, I'd like to see my town become cleaner, more beautiful. I'd like to see the sewers working well; I'd like to see the drinking water system improve. These are the main targets."

Is he optimistic about prospects for peace? "I am always optimistic, because a time will come when people who believe in coexistence will take over."

"Remember, of all the languages in the world, only in Hebrew and Arabic do people greet and leave each other with the word 'peace.' I would say to the Israelis, please remember that our peoples are both descended from the same great ancestor Abraham. We have lived together in this place for thousands of years. I see no reason why we can't do so today."

"Please try to understand. We want peace as much as you. We want to see your peace for our children, just as we want to see our peace for your children."

LEBANON

(Continued from Page One)

their men and two IDF soldiers were killed. A year ago — in February 1986 — there was a raid near Zarit, but they were intercepted north of the border.

The three terrorists killed in Sunday's abortive raid are believed to have left from the Rashidiya refugee camp near Tyre — to do that they had to "get through" an 'Amal' cordon thrown around the refugee camp last September. They also had to cross the security zone, avoiding SLA and IDF troops.

However, the latest infiltration may not be a one-time shot, a source in Southern Lebanon told *The Jerusalem Post*. The Syrians may force Amal to reduce pressure on the Palestinians for while they detest PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, who commands the support of most Palestinians in the area, they do not want the Palestinians to back Abu Musa and other members of the rejection front in the refugee camps in Lebanon.

Hizbullah is a different story. This extremist Shi'ite organization has launched several large-scale attacks against SLA positions in the past and last week's attack was no different.

Thus far, Hizbullah has refrained from attacking Israel proper.

There has been little or no collaboration between Hizbullah and the Palestinians, recently. *The Post* was told.

What does all this mean for Israel? The country must be ready for more infiltration.



Yasser Arafat's Fatah organization distributed the photograph showing the three terrorists who were killed on Friday in a border raid near Kibbutz Manara.

(Continued from Page One)

The soldiers moved forward under cover of light weapons fire in an effort to keep the terrorists pinned down or to draw them into firing back and thus giving away their position.

The night sky was illuminated with the flash of gunfire and dozens of flares, but the terrorists remained under cover until the searchers were less than 15 metres away.

At that point, they opened up with a fusillade which cut into the Israeli soldiers. Sharon, who was leading his patrol, was badly wounded, but still managed to relay a message — his last — to the area commander that the patrol had found the terrorists.

His men rushed forward, coming face-to-face with the terrorists. All the intruders were killed in the shootout. Alon, too, fell at that point; his body was found lying almost on top of one of the terrorists. Sharon was buried at Haifa's military cemetery on Sunday afternoon.

INFILTRATORS

The intruders, dressed in civilian clothes with padded IDF-style jackets, had apparently come from Sidon. Equipment found alongside their bodies included three Low rocker launchers, Kalashnikov rifles and ammunition, 20 handgrenades, apparently of the type used by the IDF, knives, wire cutters, food, water and medical supplies.

The equipment, together with the letter written on Fatah notepaper found on one of the terrorists, indicated that they had planned for a long-term operation after taking hostages.

One of the IDF soldiers involved in the shoot-out told reporters at the scene that it was one Pessah he would never forget.

"We had the incident with the terrorists in South Lebanon, and now I have lost my best friend," said the soldier, referring to Assaf Alon, who was killed in the raid.

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"We had the incident with the terrorists in South Lebanon, and now I have lost my best friend," said the soldier, referring to Assaf Alon, who was killed in the raid.

Our beloved
KLAUS HERRMANN
has passed away suddenly.
The funeral will take place today, April 21, 1987, at 11:30 in Kfar Samir.
A bus will leave his home at 5 Zerubavel St., Haifa.
In deep sorrow, we are:
Dobbi Gruenbaum
Gabrielle Dundon, daughter
Marjorie and Peter Hermann
Hanne-Loppe Seizer
and all the family in
Israel and abroad.

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of our dear
GERHARD HEILBORN
The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, April 21, 1987, at 11 a.m., leaving from the gate of the Kfar Samir cemetery, Haifa.
The Family

With great sorrow, we announce the death of our dearest mother, grandmother and great-grandmother
CHARLOTTE WALK
The Seligmann, Tauber and Walk Families
The funeral will take place at Sanhedria today, April 21, 1987, at 12 noon.
A bus will be provided from 11 Hameyasdim St. at 11:30 a.m.

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of
PAULA (Ciorica) ARMAND
Bucharest-Tel Aviv
The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, April 21, 1987, at 12 noon at Kiryat Shaul Cemetery.
A (red) United Tours bus for those attending will be provided at 11:15 a.m., at the Florida Hotel, 162 Rehov Hayarkon, Tel Aviv. It will leave for the cemetery at 11:30 a.m. prompt.
Please refrain from condolence visits.
Husband, Sebastian Armand
Sister-in-law, Carola Armand
Grandchildren, Silvia, David Serbu

On the first anniversary of the passing of our dear
VALERIE LACHMAN
there will be a memorial meeting and an unveiling of the tombstone on Thursday, April 23, 1987, at 4 p.m. at the Kiryat Shaul cemetery. We shall meet at the gate.
The Family

With deepest sorrow, we announce the passing of our beloved husband, father and zelda
SOLOMON (Solly) DWORSKY
Wife, Gertie
Children, Max, Madeleine and family
Ellie, Rocky and family
Marion, Abe Gullis and family
and grandchildren
The funeral will take place today, Tuesday, April 21, at 11 a.m., at the New Cemetery, Ramatana.

April 21, 1987



Children in Cape Town, South Africa, yesterday set aloft helium-filled balloons inscribed with slogans calling for the release of minors held in detention. The demonstration was organized by civil rights groups in defiance of a government ban. (Reuters telephoto)

More coaches torched in strike

Army joins police at Johannesburg depots

JOHANNESBURG. — South African troops joined police yesterday to stand guard at railway stations serving black commuters in the Johannesburg area, on the lookout for arsonists who set fire to more than 60 coaches in the past week.

Two more coaches were set alight Sunday night at a commuter station between Johannesburg and Pretoria, the latest in a series of arson attacks during a bitter strike by some 18,000 black railway workers.

The government's Bureau for Information, which controls news of political unrest in the country, said a passenger coach and an engine were burned at the station but gave no details of any injuries or damage.

It also said police Sunday night shot dead a black man who was part of a group throwing stones at two white miners walking to work in the gold mining town of Welkom in the Orange Free State.

The Bureau said it was not clear whether the incident was related to the unrest.

The main attack on most of the black coaches was on Sunday night in Johannesburg, where a series of attempts to end the six-week-old dispute which began when railway authorities sacked a worker for late delivery of fares.

Meanwhile, 12 top South African sportsmen on Sunday criticized President P.W. Botha's government for slow progress in reforming apartheid and voiced public support for opposition moderates in the May 6 whites-only general election.

Their statements, carried by national newspapers, were another blow to the ruling National Party (NP), still reeling from the defection of prominent members to support independent candidates seeking faster reform of race segregation laws.

The 12 said they backed the so-called Reform Alliance grouping of opposition centrist parties and independents including former ambassador to Britain Denis Worrall.

The group included Springbok cricketers Clive Rice, Graeme Pollock, Garth Le Roux and Peter Kirsten, former rugby players Tommy Bedford and Morne du Plessis, and canoeist Oscar Chalupsky.

And in Tokyo, Oliver Tambo, chairman of the African National Congress guerrilla group, urged Japanese leaders yesterday to cut off all trade with South Africa and to influence other major industrialized countries to follow suit.

Tambo said he told Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari that Japan should take the lead and then urge other members of the "Group of Seven" developed nations to cut off trade with South Africa. (Reuters, AP)

Algerians voice concern over Morocco's new defence wall

ALGERIERS (Reuters). — Algeria expressed concern Sunday over what it described as a dangerous situation created by Morocco's construction of a new defence line in the western Sahara along the Mauritanian border.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said in a statement that Algeria gave total support to Mauritania, the news agency APS reported.

On Friday the Moroccan army announced completion of a "Sixth Wall" running along the southern border between Mauritania and the

former Western Sahara, aimed at denying Algerian-backed Polisario guerrillas access to the Atlantic.

"Algeria, which is in permanent contact with the Mauritanian government, is especially attuned to its concern," the statement said.

"It shares Mauritania's evaluation of the dangerous situation created for its territorial integrity and security of its towns and economic installations which are now directly exposed to military operations linked to the conflict imposed on the western Sahara people."

The drama began in the summer of 1986 when these men grew increasingly alarmed that by calling for "political reform" in May, Deng had misled many intellectuals into thinking he meant something like genuine liberty. For months, the press here quivered with calls for political relaxation. The old men, who had shared Deng's messkit during the great revolutionary days, implored China's pre-eminent revolutionary leader to stop the ideological rot.

At a series of meetings beginning last summer and extending to the final days of 1986, they told Deng that Hu, his closest protégé for 40 years, was sapping the party's vitality. Deng, by now furious with Hu

Philippine army battles rebels

MANILA, Philippines. — Hundreds of Communist rebels and government troops battled north of the capital yesterday in fighting that has claimed the lives of at least 15 rebels, the government news agency said.

There was no mention of government casualties.

The Philippines News Agency said about 400 troops backed by helicopter gunships fought some 300 New People's Army guerrillas in the mountains of eastern Bulacan province.

It said the battle began Sunday afternoon during a major sweep of the area by the government forces.

There were three clashes yesterday morning, each lasting about 90 minutes, between the towns of Remedios Trinidad and San Ildefonso as the rebels retreated, PNA said.

Later yesterday, the military said rebels attacked an army camp in northern Negros Occidental province in the central Visaya Islands, killing four soldiers and a young girl.

It said an undetermined number of rebels attacked the 57th Infantry Battalion camp in the town of Sagay, about 70 km. north of the provincial capital of Bacolod.

Some of the troops had their families living with them at the camp, and the girl killed was the daughter of a soldier, the military said.

About 400 people have been killed in fighting across the nation since February, when a ceasefire between the government and the guerrillas expired.



President Corazon Aquino at a church yesterday. (Reuters)

Earlier yesterday, President Corazon Aquino appealed for unity after last weekend's raid on army headquarters, and the military announced that the mutineers will be charged with sedition and rebellion.

During a mass at the Manila cathedral, Aquino said she regretted the lack of unity among her 56 million people since the February 1986 overthrow of former president Ferdinand Marcos.

Military sources blame pro-Marcos former soldiers for Saturday's raid, which included an abortive attempt to free some 110 prisoners held in connection with a January 27 coup attempt.

"It is unfortunate that not all Filipinos are thinking as one," said the 54-year-old president, whose administration has been rocked repeatedly by coup attempts and military conspiracies.

Meanwhile, Government negotiators have agreed with Moslem rebels to "draft the mechanics" of a proposal for full autonomy in much of the southern Philippines, according to a document made public yesterday.

Leading opposition figures have accused the government of selling out the southern third of the country in negotiations with the Moslems and have challenged it to say whether it has already granted the rebels' demand for autonomy in 23 southern provinces.

The government has denied it made such a commitment and says it agreed only to consider autonomy for the 23 provinces, an acknowledgement that itself sent shockwaves through the Christian-dominated South.

A document signed by the government's two top negotiators on January 3 reads:

"A joint commission composed of three members from each side shall be created to discuss and draft the mechanics and details of the proposal to grant full autonomy to Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi and Palawan." (AP, Reuters)

Sixth IRA letter bomb defused

LONDON (AP). — Explosive experts early yesterday defused a letter bomb sent to a top civil servant. It was the sixth letter bomb sent to Thatcher government officials in six days.

Scotland Yard said all six devices were identical and all were rubber stamped "Students' Union, University of Ulster." All the bombs were defused by police and there were no injuries.

The outlawed Irish Republican Army, fighting to end British rule in Northern Ireland, claimed responsibility for the first five packages.

Police said the latest bomb was discovered by Stephen Sherbourne, 41, Thatcher's political secretary, when he returned to his West London apartment in Fulham after a few days away.

Scotland Yard warned top civil servants and political officials returning from the long Easter holiday yesterday to be especially careful when looking through their mail.

"This is exactly what we had been fearing — that people who had been away for a few days would come back and more of these devices would be waiting," said a Scotland Yard spokesman.

"There could be even more lying in people's letter boxes or on their doorsteps as they return from an Easter break. We urge people to regard their mail very carefully," the spokesman said.

In Northern Ireland, police said two soldiers were slightly hurt Thursday in a mortar attack on a British army base near the border with the Irish Republic.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

Komsomol head reelected, leadership decimated

MOSCOW (AP). — The Communist Youth League, or Komsomol, wound up a four-day congress here Saturday in the presence of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, after retaining its first secretary but voting out three quarters of the Komsomol leadership.

The 20th Congress, the first to be held since Gorbachev came to power, was also reelected Viktor Mitonenko as first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, the closing ceremony, which was also attended by members of the ruling Politburo, was broadcast live on television.

W. German skinheads fete Hitler birthday

NORTHEIM, West Germany (AP). — Groups of rightist "Skinheads" gathered to celebrate Adolf Hitler's birthday and fought running street battles with Turkish youths that left at least a dozen people injured, police said yesterday.

Skinheads are right-wing extremists in West Germany. They often belong to neo-Nazi groups.

The Skinheads attacked a group of Turkish youths after being chased by police away from the town center. Other groups of Turks then went searching for the Skinheads, and fighting with sticks and other weapons spread throughout the town.

Chinese elections voided after violations

BEIJING (AP). — Local elections in China's western Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region have been declared void because of failure to carry out reforms designed to make voting more democratic, the official Xinhua News Agency said Sunday.

The report said new elections had to be held for two of 68 constituencies voting for county people's congresses, or legislatures, and 21 of 174 township congresses.

Egypt's population tops 50 million

CAIRO. — Egypt's population stood at 50.5 million in November, nearly a third more than the 38 million tallied a decade earlier, according to official statistics released Saturday.

Mokhtar Haluda, director of the central statistical agency, said that the count included 2.25 million Egyptians who lived abroad.

He said that Egypt had slightly more men than women.

One striking figure, Haluda said, was the decrease in the proportion of illiterates: 49.4 per cent of the population in the latest survey against 57.2 per cent in 1976.

Shark maims girl off Texas coast

PORT ARANSAS, Texas (AP). — A shark bit off a 16-year-old girl's arm as her father frantically tried to fend off the fish in chest-deep waters near Mustang Island on Saturday night, authorities said.

The girl's arm was severed about 15 to 20 cm above the elbow in the attack about a half-mile north of Mustang Island State Park, said Nueces County constable Deewayne Mathews. He declined to give her name.

for antagonizing even the army on which stability ultimately depends, accused the younger man of weakness and inattention and demanded his resignation. Even Premier Zhao, who feared that Hu's terrible reputation with the die-hards would undermine the economic reforms, apparently made no effort to save his old comrade.

Now the question is: Will the conservatives be content with Hu's ouster, the end of inquiry into a variety of political systems, and a crackdown on literature and art which stinks of what the ideologues call "spiritual pollution?"

Some here believe the old conservatives will not ultimately challenge the economic reforms which, despite undeniable problems and shortfalls, have brought considerable prosperity to millions of Chinese by encouraging entrepreneurial drive and reliance on market forces. As long as the leadership cuts back on waste, trade imbalances, capital spending and imports, it is explained the old revolutionaries will be content with what they have achieved — which is far more than anyone expected five months ago.

But there is a gloomier and possibly more realistic view: if the economy fails to pick up in the next quarter, and the grain harvest — and

(London Observer Service)



Injured young woman lies on ground Saturday as police lead away other demonstrators in Seoul, South Korea, after commemoration of 1960 student-led uprising. (AFP)

Top S. Korea Catholic rips 'despotic regime'

SEOUL (AP). — South Korea's top Roman Catholic leader has stepped up his attack on the government of President Chun Doo Hwan, calling it a "despotic rule."

Cardinal Stephen Kim Sou Hwan, leader of South Korea's 2.3 million Catholics, made the attack in a sermon on Easter Sunday at Seoul's Myungdong Cathedral, the church officials said.

"Dark is setting in our society, particularly in the political field, and I am afraid a despotic rule has begun," Kim said. "I don't know how long

this rule would last and how soon we would be able to have a democratic society in which we can live freely."

Kim is known for his critical stand toward the Chun government. But Sunday's sermon appeared to be the most severe anti-government attack he has made in recent years.

Kim, 66, expressed discontent last week when Chun announced plans to shelve debate on constitutional reforms until next year's Seoul Olympics and to use the current electoral college system to pick his successor early next year.

U.S. high court rules ex-Nazi be deported to USSR

WASHINGTON — THE U.S. Supreme Court yesterday cleared the way for the deportation of Karl Linas, an accused Nazi concentration camp commandant, to the Soviet Union, where he faces the death penalty.

The nation's high court, by a 6-3 vote, refused to grant a stay of deportation to Linas, accused of taking part in wartime atrocities and mass murders as commander of a death camp in Tartu, Estonia, where 12,000 people were killed during World War Two.

The Linas case has sparked a heated debate within the Reagan administration, with Jewish groups urging that he be deported to the Soviet Union as just punishment for his wartime acts.

The Soviet news agency Tass on Saturday charged that Attorney-



Karl Linas (AFP)

General, Edwin Meese, were hamstringing attempts to extradite Linas to the Soviet Union. (Reuters, AFP)

Queen's guard gets machineguns

LONDON (AP). — British security services have moved to boost the firepower of sentries in front of Buckingham Palace in order to prevent any "Beirut-style" suicide attack by terrorists, the Sunday Mirror reported.

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Classes in Psalms, Talmud (Sunday evenings); Hebrew (Mon., Wed.); Halacha (Tue.); Advanced Talmud (Wed.) — continuing until Shavu'ot (June 2)

Fourth Annual Israel Goldstein Holocaust Lecture "The Holocaust as History and as Fiction," Dr. Ezrahi, the Hebrew University

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Tourists with all kinds of tales

Compiled from reports by Greer Fay Cashman, Ken Schuchter and Jonathan Karp.

After several months when hotel keepers were desperate because there were no guests, the country is filled with visitors in what promises to be the start of a tourist boom.

But whether the boom continues will depend largely on the reports that today's visitors give friends and neighbours back home.

In a random survey, *Jerusalem Post* reporters found that despite complaints about cheating taxi drivers, inefficient waiters and at least one pickpocket, many tourists said they were happy with their stay and hoped to return.

New Yorkers David and Nancy Hess and their two daughters, Aliza, 4, and Havi, 14 months, took a cab

from downtown Jerusalem to the Windmill Hotel, the driver demanded \$4 for the ride, which is the distance of two short bus stops.

The Hesses would also have preferred a little less noise in their hotel, but understood that in a 133-room, three-star hotel occupied largely by Orthodox families, noise was something that couldn't be avoided.

It was their first visit here during Pessah, they said, and it was a rewarding and emotional experience which they would like to repeat.

Taco Hofstee, 26, a first-time visitor to Israel from Holland, complained about service at restaurants.

"They slam plates on your table," he said. "They act aggressive." But he praised the food, asking only that restaurants serve white bread in addition to pita.

Several tourists said that after

visiting other Israeli cities, Netanya was a relief. Otto and Inger Hansen of Denmark had their pockets picked in the Old City in Jerusalem, and even though they found the police cooperative and eager to help, the incident left them with a bad feeling about the capital.

"In Netanya we feel very safe. It's a wonderful feeling," Inger said. "And we are very satisfied with the hotel. The staff has been friendly, and we have no complaints about the room."

Sally Gaminara and Trevor Barnes of London came to Netanya after a miserable experience in Nahariya. "We booked a room there from Jerusalem, but when we arrived, we discovered that they were renovating the hotel," Gaminara said.

"It was a complete pit, with the

painters and builders working. They told us to come back in half an hour, and when we did, we were given a really crude room, with the paints still drying and with a microscopic bathroom." To top it all off, she added, the workmen continued the construction until Gaminara stomped out of the room at 2 a.m. to complain.

"Netanya has been such a relief after Nahariya," she said. "We got the last room in our hotel here, and the reception has been warm, extremely helpful."

Some visitors were unhappy about the standard of their accommodation. Henning Sander-Larsen of Denmark said the rooms in his four-star hotel could have been cleaner. "We expect a little higher standard," he said.

Cliff and Cheryl Parks, Americans working in Amman, came to Israel by way of the Allenby Bridge. They said: "The places are nice, and built nice, but the maintenance is not so good. Just cleaning things like windows and carpets would make a difference."

Others were concerned about prices. Anthony and Elaine Taylor of Leeds found their Netanya stay "our most expensive holiday yet," although they added that they enjoyed it enough to consider coming back.



David and Nancy Hess of New York and their two daughters at breakfast in their Jerusalem hotel - it was noisy but that was understandable. (Dan Lundau)

Ingborg Brzoska of West Germany noted that although the dollar, in which tourist prices are calculated, has fallen in relation to the Deutschmark, prices are high and service is wanting. "What I'd like is to get better service," she said.

But this regular visitor to Israel stressed that the beaches in Tel Aviv were clean. (The general notion in Germany is that all Mediterranean

beaches are dirty.) Gaminara and Barnes also found prices were high. "We won't be back. We can get better value for our money in a place like Spain," Barnes said.

But for many visitors, Israel was something more than another ordinary tourist destination. "It's very emotional," said Danielle Rein, of Paris, who brought her children to

show them the country. Edward Rubovitz, a New Jersey insurance man, came to celebrate the bar mitzva of his son Lewis on Masada. A Reform Jew, Rubovitz and his family were "fascinated" by the hotel's traditional Seder. The whole trip, he said, had been "very moving" and far beyond his expectations, and he intended to visit frequently.

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French TV report on territories causes uproar

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI

Jerusalem Post Correspondent PARIS. — "Journey Inside Occupied Palestine," a segment of the weekly current affairs TV magazine "Infovision" broadcast last Thursday night on TF1, French television's first channel, has caused an uproar in both the Jewish community and Israeli diplomatic circles in Paris.

The 15-minute programme, which has been labelled as violently anti-Semitic, was shot "without authorization" (of the military authorities) in the West Bank by Dominique Thomas and Hubert Dubois, according to Thomas's commentary on film.

An Infovision's producer told *The Jerusalem Post* "Our purpose was to show the 'banality' of the Israeli occupation, of the oppression. We wanted to show plain people, who never had the opportunity to make their point."

Thomas and Dubois filmed Palestinian workers telling how they have been exploited by Israeli employers and were eventually beaten up by the police. A female Islamic fundamentalist student of an unspecified West Bank university explains how "Israel wants to kill our desire for learning."

Other sequences contain statements about the "lack of medical care" in Arab villages, the eviction of peasants from their land, and the West Bank's "impoverishment."

In one highly controversial scene Palestinian youngsters hurl stones and shout slogans at soldiers patrolling an unnamed refugee camp, until the soldiers eventually open fire in their direction. The location of the camera (on a roof overlooking the street) and the occurrence of the incident directly below the film crew reminded some observers of a case in which a foreign television crew was accused of staging an incident in which Arab teenagers had been "incited" by the cameraman to throw stones at passing Israeli cars.

The Israeli Embassy here protested on Friday against "the incredible anti-Israeli propaganda" that had been aired by TF1. "The errors, the forgeries, the vague approximations and the tendentious presentation turned this totally biased document into a model of disinformation," an embassy spokesman said.

Theo Klein, chairman of the European Jewish Congress and of Crif (the representative body of Jewish organizations in France), told *The Post* that TF1 had ridiculed itself by showing a totally biased image of the situation of the Palestinians in the West Bank.

In the 24 hours following the broadcast hundreds of viewers called in protest to the station's headquarters in Paris.

Hams from the Holy Land

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

For the past week Amir Bazak and Moshe Levitats have been talking their heads off. In fact they've been talking almost round the clock, catching a few moments of sleep only when overcome by exhaustion. They're not out to establish a new feat for the Guinness Book of Records, however. Their aim is to win friends and tourists for Israel.

Bazak, 24, and Levitats, 20, are both members of the Israel Amateur Radio Club (IARC) which, for the third consecutive year, undertook an Easter greetings campaign from "Holyland stations" to Christians around the world.

Transmitting and receiving this year from Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Mount Tabor and Mount Carmel the Israelis, and some 25 guest operators from abroad, have contacted over 40,000 radio operators in 170 countries.

The Bethlehem station, manned by Bazak, Levitats and two friends, was way ahead of the others. By midnight last night, it had recorded 15,000 contacts. Bazak believes that another 1,000 contacts will be made today. The campaign, which started last Tuesday, ends tonight.

The station is not in Bethlehem proper, but in the Gilo field school, adjacent to Beit Jala. Bazak, who lives in Ramat Hasharon, searched for a suitable area for a station last year and found the site ideal for his purposes. It is located 940m. above sea level, with a conveniently constructed observation tower on which to mount antennae.

Among the station's thousands of dollar worth of radio gear is a computer donated by NCR to each of the five stations to facilitate the classification of contacts. An operators' communications log contains hundreds of sheets of data, including the time, station, frequency, signal and name of the overseas operator. It's



Amir Bazak (left) and Moshe Levitats broadcasting their Easter message all over the world. (Brian Handler)

all done on a first name basis.

Professional publications all over the world published advance announcements of the Holyland Easter campaign. The response was phenomenal. Thousands of overseas operators contacted all five or at least four of the stations to qualify for a special diploma.

Bazak received calls from Lebanon, Egypt and three other Arab countries which he refuses to name. All calls were of only a few seconds duration, as were those from Europe, the Far East and the Pacific. During any given five minutes, Bazak exchanged greetings with callers from Italy, West Germany, Alaska, Hungary, England, Japan, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Norway, Holland and Australia.

English was the most commonly used language, though Bazak often signed off in Italian, German, Spanish, Japanese or Greek.

During the rest of the year, Bazak's conversations are longer. He has made friends with many people whose faces he has never seen. Callers from countries hostile

to Israel frequently start their calls "for political reasons. I cannot contact you" — but they call anyway. One of Bazak's most frequent callers, a Russian, has become so close a friend that Bazak regards him as a brother. The Russian often says to him that he looks forward to the day when he can sit with him in the same station and talk from there to the world.

The IARC has come under heavy criticism for putting the emphasis on Easter rather than Pessah. But the success of the campaign seems to have justified this: operators from all over the world are queuing up to call Nazareth and Bethlehem.

After talking to Israel, the next step is to visit. Were it not for misplaced fears about the security situation, says Bazak, many more would come. In evaluating the success of the Easter operation, he draws an analogy to fishing. "If you cast a line in the water, you will catch maybe two or three fish. If you cast a net, you will catch many more. The radio is our net. It's a contact for peace."

A myth about the public is punctured

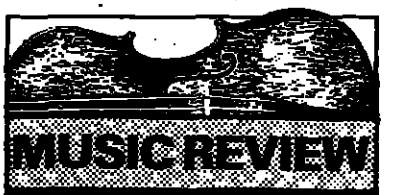
THE TEL-AVIV FESTIVAL FOR VOCAL MUSIC. Musical director: Michael Shani (Old Jaffa, April 14-18).

Old Jaffa is a charming, ideal local for a festival. For five successive nights, its churches, theatres, halls, piazzas, hidden corners and alleys bustled with musical activity. But the real surprise of the festival was the crowd which filled all available space, belying those who assume the public dislikes vocal music.

Of the 20 main events, this listener unfortunately attended only five and only these will be reviewed.

Cantilena — The Israel Ensemble for Early Music, directed by Shai Burstin, presented 16th century and "modern" pieces. While the instrumental items were highly enjoyable, and the vocal-instrumental items were acceptable, some of the singing of the eight vocalists was out of tune, recalling a badly-coached IDF entertainment group. (Calif. April 15).

Highly qualified choral singing was provided by the Kibbutz Artzi Choir conducted by Aharon Harlap



in a programme of Schubert, Mendelssohn, Kodaly, Harlap and spirituals. Harlap elicited a pure, transparent sonority beautifully suited to the acoustics of a church. His musical phrasing is superb. The concert was a sheer delight. (Hamman, April 15).

The Austrian Voelckermat choir seemed lacklustre, its repertoire boring and its musical message meagre. Conductor Christina Winkler lacks stamina and personality. (Hamman, April 16).

"An Operatic Evening," prepared by the late Israeli soprano Netanya Dovrat was an undeniable success, despite its shortcomings. All of Dovrat's students seemed to have profited immensely from her teaching and all seemed well-versed

in the style and spirit of operatic music. Some of the excerpts from *The Barber of Seville* (Rossini), *Rigoletto* (Verdi), and *Cavalleria Rusticana* (Mascagni) were a delight. Tenor Yotam Cohen was particularly impressive and his future as a passionate, lyrical tenor seems assured.

The festival closed with a very strong and imposing performance of Mendelssohn's oratorio *Elijah*. The Israel Sinfonietta played with verve and devotion and the Tel Aviv Philharmonic Choir stood up to all the demands put on it. Of the five soloists, sopranos Gila Yaron and Raya Suzzkind-Gonen, alto Mira Zakai, tenor Arthur Janzen and particularly baritone Stefan Bevier, made the performance vivid and powerful.

The interpretative power of conductor Michael Shani, his clear conception and his remarkable sense of drama turned the oratorio into an exciting story. There was never a dull moment in the two-hour-long work. BENJAMIN BAR-AM

Scenes of the Holocaust rise before their eyes

WARSAW (AP). — "I have butterflies in my stomach because this is my first time back here in 42 years," said Behra Zakai, a Holocaust survivor who left Poland as a 13-year-old girl in 1945 and now lives on a Negev kibbutz.

She was speaking after an emotional ceremony here late last Thursday. In an unusual sight for a Soviet-bloc capital, Israeli flags fluttered in the breeze by the monument to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising in downtown Warsaw as a Polish army honour guard stood at attention.

Several hundred young Israelis had gathered for the moving event to pay tribute to the Jewish fighters who died 44 years ago resisting the final Nazi drive to liquidate the Ghetto.

Zakai who came on the trip with

her teenage son observed: "Our young people have to know what happened here and now they know it. My son now says he will never leave his country after this trip."

The observances marking the anniversary of the April 1943 uprising came at the end of a 10-day tour of Poland by more than 300 Israeli high school students, the majority from kibbutzim, who were accompanied by parents, teachers and youth group leaders.

The group which visited the sites of the former Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka concentration camps was the largest single Israeli delegation to visit Poland, officials of the recently opened Israeli interest section in Warsaw.

Last year low-level diplomatic contacts between Poland and Israel, broken in 1967 were restored by

setting up interest section offices in each other's capitals to improve cultural links and ease travel between the two countries.

During Thursday's ceremony, the youths read excerpts from letters by Mordechai Anielewicz, the leader of the uprising, sang songs of the Ghetto fighters and *Hatikva*, and laid floral wreaths and lit candles by the monument.

Also laying wreaths were diplomats from the Israeli interest section and a delegation of Polish citizens who were awarded who have been honoured by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles.

Yigal Tzohar, a kibbutzim movement official and one of the trip's organizers, said the youths had spent eight months studying about the Holocaust before coming to Poland. They returned home over the

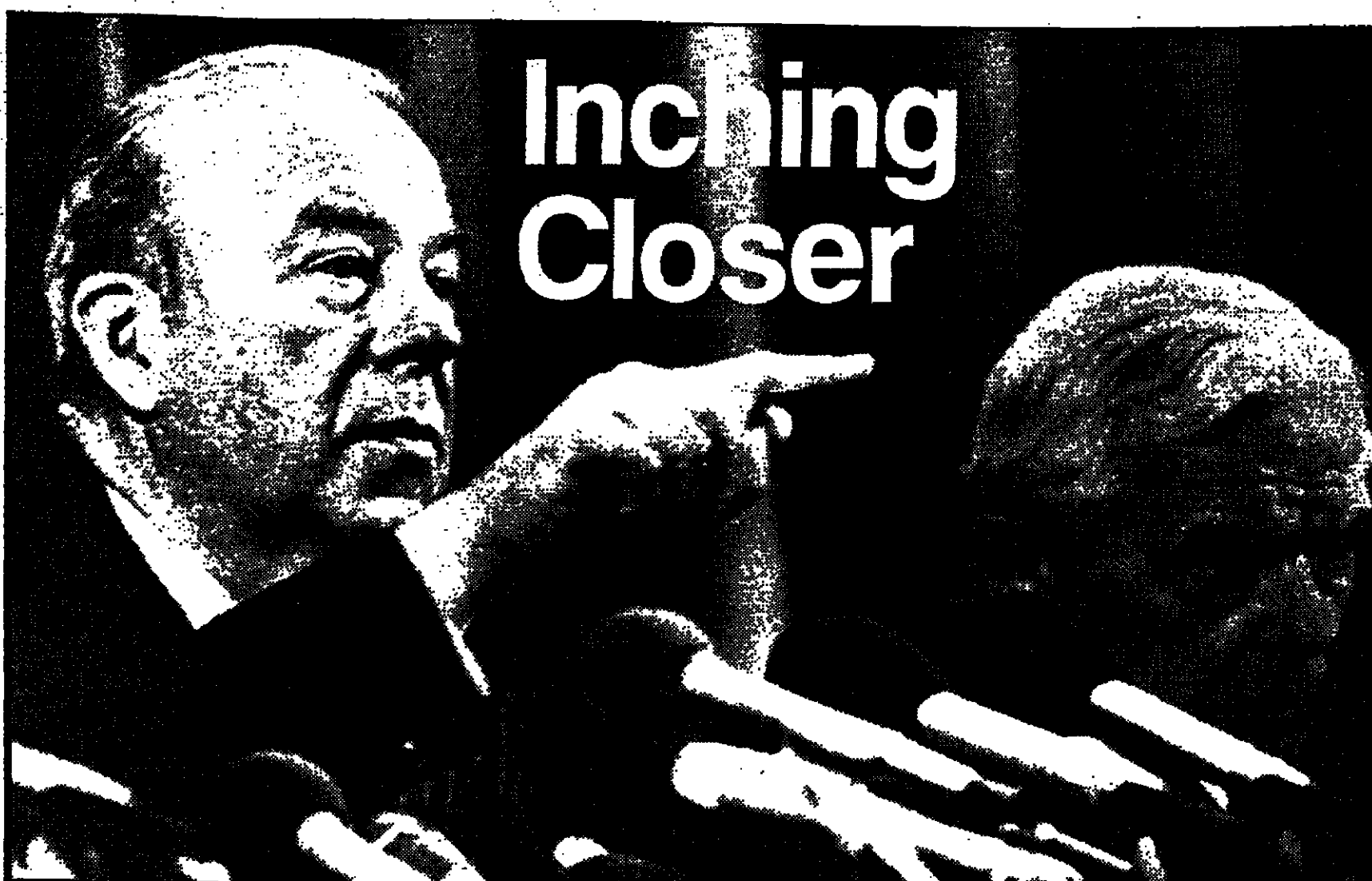
weekend, and after the Pessah break will share their experiences with other young people at schools around the country, he said. "It's not the same to study the Holocaust in books as it is to see it with your own eyes," said Tzohar.

Many of the young people said they had been moved to tears by visiting the scenes of the Holocaust and stressed that the trip had also given them a stronger sense of their historical and cultural roots.

"I have watched films about the Holocaust and visited museums, but when you come here you see it's not a bad dream but a very bad reality...that I hope will never be again," said Tomer Vernik, 17, from Huda Hasharon.

"I came here as an Israeli, but now I feel that I am more Jewish than when I came."

Handwritten text in Arabic script: "مكتبة لادان"



Inching Closer

A busy week of diplomacy

What did and did not happen in Moscow last week as Secretary of State George P. Shultz held crucial arms-control talks with Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze, then met with Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev:

Missiles. Agreement was virtually reached on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe. A Soviet proposal for the elimination of shorter-range missiles made some NATO allies uneasy.

No agreements were reached on strategic, or long-range, nuclear weapons; on space-based missile shields, such as "Star Wars"; on extending ABM treaties dealing with defensive missile systems, or on proposals to ban nuclear testing.

Summit. A Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Washington seemed more likely, but no date was set.

Space Exploration. The only agreement concluded promoted cooperation in space exploration.

Public Positions. Mr. Shultz pointed up Soviet transgressions on human rights by attending a Passover seder for Jews seeking to emigrate and by visiting Boris Pasternak's grave. Mr. Gorbachev deftly offered missile proposals that put U.S. at risk of being portrayed as obstructionist.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz and U.S. arms negotiator Paul Nitze at a news conference in Moscow.

United Press International/Reuters

How Both Sides Gain From Moscow Talks

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

It would be difficult enough for the Soviet Union and the United States to agree on reducing nuclear arms if their negotiators could simply lock themselves in a windowless room and deal dispassionately in the intricate calculus of complex weaponry. But the outside world intrudes; political emotion, theatrics and imagery also have seats at the bargaining table.

So it was last week in Moscow, where Secretary of State George P. Shultz spent three days, accompanied by a large entourage of experts representing the full spectrum of opinion in the Reagan Administration. The focus was the proposed treaty banning medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe, but the stage was considerably broader, encompassing the full range of Soviet-American interaction.

Most Secretaries of State visiting Moscow limit themselves to the official talks. Mr. Shultz did it very differently, engaging Soviet society in an unusually diverse scope. He attended a Passover seder at the American Ambassador's residence with about 50 Soviet Jews who have been trying for years to emigrate. He met with 19 other would-be émigrés who were either married to Americans or held dual American-Soviet citizenship. He spent a few hours in Peredelkino, the writers' colony outside Moscow, where he visited the grave of Boris Pasternak; stopped in at a Russian Orthodox church service, and discussed "glasnost," and the new steps toward "openness," with a group of poets, sculptors and other intellectuals. He came away testifying to the "important changes taking place" as Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, tries to reform the economy, stir debate and relax restrictions in literature and films.

Mr. Shultz did have some contentious issues to deal with, including espionage and eavesdropping at the American Embassy, the fate of religious believers, Jewish emigration, "Star Wars," Afghanistan, Central America and the like. Soviet officials did not give the Americans any hope for a significant, long-term rise in Jewish emigration, which seems likely to remain an irritant in the relationship. Mr. Shultz aired some of these issues in an interview broadcast by Soviet television.

But as an arms control negotiator, he went to Moscow with his hands practically tied by hard-liners in Washington who distrusted his instincts and wanted to be sure that "things don't get out of hand," in the words of

one. Mr. Shultz's inability to react to Mr. Gorbachev's new offer — the elimination of short-range nuclear missiles in Europe — drew derisive comments from the Soviet leader and, after he left, from the spokesmen for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Gennadi I. Gerasimov.

"If we leave aside the special gear he brought for communications with Washington, the baggage brought by the Secretary of State to Moscow was not very much," Mr. Gerasimov declared. "Despite the fact that the U.S. side was quite numerous, there was a feeling that the head of the delegation did not have too much room for maneuver."

"For some reason," Mr. Shultz countered in Brussels, "they seemed to think that there should be an instant response from me. If so, they don't quite comprehend the nature of an alliance between free countries. We consult."

The barbed comments notwithstanding, Mr. Shultz put a positive face on the talks, asserting that they had brought the two countries closer to a pact on medium-range missiles in Europe. This assessment seemed to be a mixture of fact and need — progress was made, and Mr. Shultz needed to show it to maintain a momentum and a sense of authority in foreign policymaking. He is said to feel strongly that an arms agreement — even one as peripheral to the superpowers' nuclear standoff as this one — is an important legacy for him to leave in a career as Secretary of State that has been lacking in bold achievements. In the wake of the Iran arms affair, Mr. Shultz has displayed a bit more vigor in pushing his views. Although he reportedly lost most of the arguments on negotiating positions made in the two weeks before his Moscow trip, he gave every indication of pressing for an Administration acceptance of the Soviet offer to eliminate shorter-range missiles. If his efforts produce a treaty ready to sign, this would open the way to a visit by Mr. Gorbachev to the United States, perhaps next fall.

The Soviet leader could also benefit from an arms agreement, even a small one. According to some Russians, ordinary people are now grumbling about all the talk, all the debate, all the criticism in the press and no change on the grocery shelves.

Quick results cannot be expected in the economic field, but an arms agreement — especially one that removes most nuclear missiles from Europe — would lend Mr. Gorbachev the aura of a man who can get things done as well as talk about them. And although popular mood plays no electoral role in the Soviet Union, of course, it does filter into the Communist Party hierarchy



Mikhail S. Gorbachev, speaking at the Kremlin Thursday, offered sweeping proposals in the arms control field.

and helps shape the contours of confidence in a leader.

This, plus the desire for East-West calm in a period of intensive domestic "restructuring," in Mr. Gorbachev's term, may explain his sweeping, creative compromises in the arms control field and his impatience with what he seemed to see as the Reagan Administration's

apparent paralysis. In what American officials described as an accurate account of his four-and-a-half-hour session with Mr. Shultz, the official Soviet news agency Tass quoted the Soviet leader as chiding the Secretary of State — "What are you afraid of?" — and suggesting that there may not be enough time with this Administration to conclude a treaty reducing intercontinental nuclear weapons.

Frustrated with President Reagan and his quarrelling advisers, Mr. Gorbachev has opened efforts to engage a broad spectrum of American political culture, apparently hoping to create an environment conducive to White House accommodation of arms. He has met with a group of high-powered former officials, including former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance; he has invited an array of Americans to a peace forum, which he addressed. He has had semi-official Russians put out the line to American reporters that if they value his domestic liberalizations, they better hope for an arms agreement to bolster him. And last week he met with a House of Representatives delegation, reportedly hoping to encourage the move in Congress to preclude defensive missile-shield funds from being used for activities banned by the 1972 treaty limiting ABM systems.

The Soviet-American relationship is a good deal healthier than during the early stages of the Reagan Administration, and perhaps a little better than even a week ago. President Reagan said on his radio program from Santa Barbara, Calif., yesterday that he was encouraged by the Soviet Union's willingness to "clear away the roadblocks" holding up an arms control treaty. And Mr. Gorbachev declared, "It is better to discuss things, to argue and engage in polemics than make perfidious plans of mutual destruction."

Thousands from 9 to 18 Are Held Without Trial

Detention of Children Fuels New Defiance in South Africa

By JOHN BATTERSBY

THE REV. ALLAN BOESAK, the anti-apartheid leader, spoke out on an issue that is causing increasing concern to South Africans. "When I think of what this Government is doing to our children," he said last week, "I get so angry that I also feel like saying: I hope there is a God in heaven that can forgive you, for I do not think that I can."

Civil rights leaders say thousands of young blacks, Indians and mixed-race people are being detained without trial in prison and police cells. They say the lives of intelligent, politically aware teenagers are being ruined by psychological damage. The Detainees Parents Support Committee, a civil rights monitoring group, estimates that more than 25,000 people have been detained since the latest emergency was declared last June 12. Forty percent, or 10,000 of them are under the age of 18. The committee says 5,000 to 8,000 prisoners are still being held without trial, including 2,000 to 3,200 juveniles, 9 to 18 years old.

The Government says the young people, who are in the age group that has spearheaded two years of revolt against apartheid, are being held for their own protection. This month the authorities banned acts of solidarity with the detainees that are aimed at encouraging others to campaign for the detainees' release. These acts include signing petitions, sending telegrams, wearing



Young people at demonstration in Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

T-shirts with messages or displaying bumper stickers calling for their release. Opposition politicians say some young people have been held in cells with adults. The Government has said it is not its policy to do this.

Speaking to 1,000 chanting supporters of the anti-apartheid group, United Democratic Front, Wednesday in Cape Town city hall, Dr. Boesak, who is president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, launched a

new campaign of defiance. "You can shoot tear gas into our churches and you can torture us and throw us into jail, but we will continue to stand up for what is right and just," he said. "We will not give up our birthright, our right to fight for what is ours. We will fight you every inch of the way. He added, 'Ban our meetings and we will go to court. Slowly our people will wear you down and you know it.'"

The campaign was endorsed by the Anglican Archbishop, Desmond M. Tutu, 46 Anglican ministers and several civil rights groups. Edward J. Perkins, Washington's first black Ambassador to South Africa, expressed "shock and outrage at the continued detention of large numbers of children." Six ministers of the white Dutch Reformed Church also joined the protests. Challenges in court actions are being filed by the parents' support committee and liberal opposition whites. The Cape Supreme Court overturned a police ban on the rally at city hall, adding to the mood of defiance, which was also evidenced by striking black workers in Transvaal province.

Contesting Government Figures

Despite police harassment, Black Sash members intend to go ahead with their campaign. Tomorrow, they plan to release bunches of helium-filled balloons carrying the message "Release This Child." "Balloons and civil disobedience represent a greater threat to the might of the state than any physical threat we could mount," a political activist said.

In November, the Black Sash, an anti-apartheid civil rights group, joined the parents committee in a "Free the Children" campaign. Mothers released helium-filled balloons outside jails and relatives began wearing "Free the Children" T-shirts. In December, Black Sash said 1,300 to 1,800 children were being detained. The Government, showing signs of embarrassment, outlawed Christmas protest demonstrations.

The Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok, told Parliament in February that 13,244 people, 279 of them 11 to

15 years old, had been detained since June 12 for periods of 30 days or longer. Monitoring groups said that this omitted the thousands who were detained for shorter periods. Mr. Vlok said, in a press release, that the detainees at that time included 19 12-year-olds, 91 13-year-olds and 169 15-year-olds. He added that 15-year-olds are considered legally accountable in South Africa. But he gave no statistics for the 15-to-18 age group — the vast majority of detained juveniles.

Mr. Vlok said the Government intended no callousness toward "innocent juveniles" and he justified the detentions as necessary for the "combating of revolutionary-inspired crime." He said children as young as 12 had acted as "judges" in so-called "people's courts."

When Parliament opened in Cape Town Jan. 31, Black Sash organized a 36-hour vigil in St. George's Anglican Cathedral. Counselors and social workers who have worked with detained children spoke.

Mrs. Farieda Omar's husband, a lawyer, has been detained twice, but their children have not been. She is a member of the parents support committee. "The children are very disoriented and confused when they come out," she said. "They are distant and alienated, but underneath they are hardened and radical and very much more open about their militancy."

Mrs. Cindy Tinto, whose husband has been detained, said that when the children are released, they are resentful and often decline to see a counselor or psychologist. "Some find it difficult to see a distinction between their jailers and a counselor," she said. "Some are just too angry to accept that they need treatment."

A mother, whose 14-year-old and 18-year-old children were detained, spoke for many. "Whenever I try to eat, I cannot eat," she said. "I wonder if my children are eating. I can't sleep because I don't know where my children are sleeping. We parents of detainees don't feel like people anymore, we feel worthless. I don't know if we'll run mad or die. . . . I keep writing letters to the police to see my children, but I've received no replies."

The World

Tamils Kill 122 Civilian Bus Riders in Sri Lanka War

In the civil war in Sri Lanka, the opponents are the minority Tamils (18 per cent), most of whom are Hindus, and the majority Sinhalese (76 per cent), most of whom are Buddhists. Since 1983, 5,000 people have been killed in the fighting, in a country of 16 million. Thousands of Tamils have sought political asylum and public sympathy in the West, maintaining they are victims of persecution by the Government.

Last week, in the worst violence in nearly two years, 122 people were killed and 60 wounded by a group of Tamil guerrillas who ambushed three buses and two cars 115 miles

northeast of the capital city of Colombo. The Tamils dragged out the passengers, separating the Sinhalese, who were said to be returning from a Buddhist lunar New Year holiday. One of those killed was reported to be a three-year-old boy who was bashed to death against a tree.

At week's end, the Government sent 5,000 troops to hunt the guerrillas in the jungles near the site of the massacre.

A New Soviet Role in Mideast?

The Iranians have taken some wild gambles in their war with Iraq. But even they might think twice before attacking a ship belonging to a superpower. That is the reason why Kuwait, which supports Iraq, might

hire three Soviet tankers to transport its oil through the Persian Gulf. Early last week Gennadi I. Gerasimov, Moscow's Foreign Ministry spokesman, announced that it would rent the vessels to Kuwait, raising the possibility that Soviet warships would accompany them. But the next day a Kuwaiti official said he did not believe an accord had been signed.

The small Gulf state, whose ships are threatened by the installation of new missiles on the Iranian side of the Strait of Hormuz, has been negotiating with several nations, including the United States, for the right to use their flags on oil tankers.

Kuwait earlier rejected an American offer to provide naval escorts for the entire Kuwaiti fleet. If an agreement is reached with Moscow, it will give the Soviet Union potential for a regular military and political presence in a region where United States naval power has long held sway. American officials oppose a formal Soviet role in protecting Gulf shipping.

Argentina Thwarts Military Rebellion

When an Argentine Army officer refused last week to be questioned in court about allegations of human rights abuses, he precipitated a serious challenge to the three-year-old civilian Government of President Raúl Alfonsín.

Taking refuge Thursday at a military base in the city of Córdoba, Maj. Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro led a mutiny of officers who demanded amnesty for those accused of crimes during 1976 to 1983 when the country was ruled by a right-wing military government. The next day, about 50 officers at an infantry school at the Campo de Mayo base near Buenos Aires joined the rebellion, and there was talk of the Government's imposing a state of siege.

But the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Héctor Ríos Ereñu declared himself loyal to Mr. Alfonsín and moved to quell the revolt. The major fled the camp, and the Army announced that the Córdoba rebels had surrendered.

Yesterday, 1,000 loyal soldiers surrounded the infantry school camp where the rebel officers were holed up and dozens of onlookers shouted "Long Live Democracy." The President, apparently surviving the rebellion, urged the rebels to "avoid any useless bloodshed."

Panama Refuses Accused Nazi

Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d tried unsuccessfully last week to help find a home for a 67-year-old Long Island land surveyor accused of Nazi war crimes.

The surveyor, Karl Linas, is wanted in the Soviet Union, where he was convicted in absentia of collabor-

ating with Nazi authorities and executing men, women, and children at the Tartu concentration camp, which he commanded during World War II in Soviet Estonia.

A Justice Department official said that Mr. Meese had tried to gain asylum for Mr. Linas in Panama, which at first had agreed to accept him and then issued a statement that it would not. Mr. Meese has declined to discuss his intentions in the case. Under American law, Mr. Linas — who was born in Estonia and who was stripped of his citizenship in 1981 for lying about his past when he entered this country — must be deported to the Soviet Union if no other country accepts him.

The Supreme Court has agreed to consider an appeal of the deportation order, and could do so this week.

Sending Mr. Linas to Panama was opposed by some ranking Justice Department officials and by some American Jewish leaders. "It's gratifying, at least for the moment, that no one is giving Linas a comfortable retirement," said Menachem Z. Rosensaft of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

Debate Silenced in South Korea

President Chun Doo Hwan of South Korea had a simple solution to the conflict over how to select a leader to

replace him: He suspended the debate over constitutional changes that would decide the issue. But there were some signs last week that his move might only deepen resistance to his rule.

The Government crackdown widened day by day. Kim Dae Jung, the country's leading opposition figure, was kept under tightly enforced house arrest. And an opposition member of the Assembly was indicted under a law forbidding national defamation.

All the while, officials said that calls for constitutional changes would be allowed if they occurred under controlled circumstances, such as in the Assembly and at news conferences. The conflicting signals seemed aimed at isolating the anti-Government forces, whose growing defiance has been unfocused.

But objections to the ban came from many quarters. Church leaders condemned it, opposition politicians said they would boycott elections and students took to the streets, flouting a prohibition on demonstrations.

Opponents of Mr. Chun, a former general who seized power in 1978, have called for constitutional changes to allow for the direct election of his successor in February, when he is supposed to step down.

Mik Freudenheim, James F. Clarity and Katy Roberts

Community Fears New U.S. Tariffs Will Spur Tokyo to 'Deflect' Even More Goods

Europe, Too, Posts 'No Dumping' Signs for Japanese Firms

By STEVE LOHR

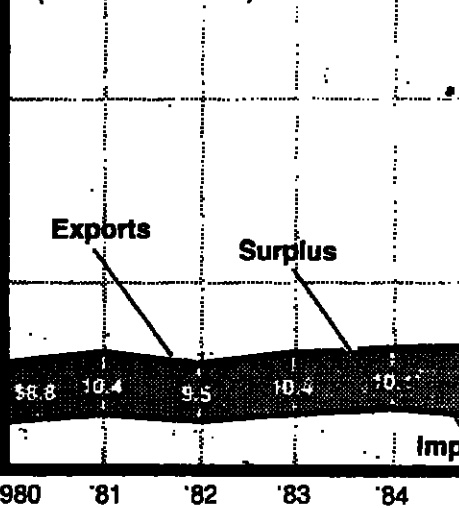
LONDON
WESTERN EUROPE, like the United States, is using far more than words in its trade disputes with Japan. Europe, in fact, seized the weapon of duties against Japan well before Washington decided to impose high tariffs, which went into effect Friday, on some Japanese electronic goods in retaliation for the purported "dumping" of computer chips at unfairly low prices.

In February, the 12 nations of the European Community placed a 20 percent anti-dumping duty on most Japanese copying machines. In the past decade, Japanese manufacturers have grabbed more than 80 percent of the \$1 billion European market for copiers, forcing 10 European companies to abandon production.

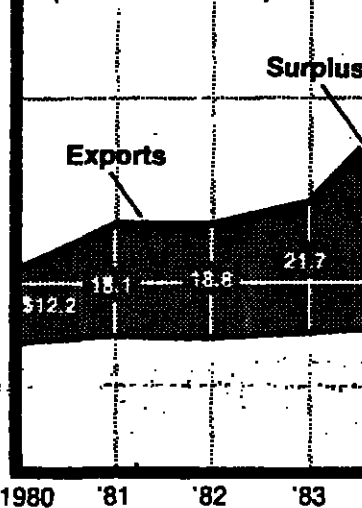
More barriers against Japanese goods may be coming soon. In Brussels, the community announced last week that it was opening an investigation of the possible dumping of Japanese computer printers in Europe. And in Geneva the ruling council of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the international trade tribunal, said last week that it would hold a hearing on Japanese chip sales at the community's request. The Europeans have argued that last year's Japan-American accord on semiconductor sales has allowed Japan to sell its chips at unfairly low prices in "third markets" such as Europe's.

Japan's trade surpluses

With the European Community (in billions of dollars)



With the United States (in billions of dollars)



With leading European countries, Canada and the United States in 1986 (in billions of dollars)

	Exports to	Imports from	Surplus
West Germany	\$10.5	\$ 4.3	\$ 6.2
France	3.2	1.9	1.3
Britain	6.6	3.6	3.0
Italy	1.7	1.5	0.2
Canada	5.8	4.5	1.3
United States	85.5	26.9	58.6

Sources: Japanese Ministry of Finance; Canadian Embassy; U.S. Department of Commerce.

Cost of Some Japanese Goods Doubles Putting a Price on Anger Over Imports

PRESIDENT REAGAN retaliated last week against Japanese trading practices that, the Administration said, violated a 1986 computer chip agreement. He imposed tariffs that may double the price of some color television sets, computers and power tools. Retailers said consumers should feel little effect, except for those who buy laptop computers.

Japan planned to protest to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade tribunal. A more forceful riposte seemed unlikely — and unnecessary — if Tokyo proves it is observing the chip accord. In that case, the tariffs would be rescinded. The action is largely symbolic, affecting only \$300 million of American im-

ports from Japan, which totaled \$7.1 billion in February.

The Administration was talking tough, hoping to head off more severe protectionist moves in Congress. Agriculture Secretary Richard J. Lyng warned the Japanese, "If they make Americans angry enough, it will cost them dearly."

Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d added that the dollar, which fell to a 35-year low against the yen before recovering last week, had tumbled far enough. Western Europeans and Japanese feared the dollar's weakness would harm their export-oriented economies.

Despite the dollar's slide, America's trade deficit kept growing. The gap for February was \$15.06 billion,

the third worst month ever. Among other indicators, industrial production declined 0.3 percent in March, and retail sales, except for automobiles, were flat.

The stock market also registered anxiety. The Dow Jones industrials dropped nearly 86 points before rebounding part way to 2,275.99.

Traders feared higher interest rates. So did home mortgage applicants and Budget Director James C. Miller 3d, who warned the Federal Reserve against protecting the dollar by raising rates and risking political fallout. Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, rebuked Mr. Miller. "We don't want him speculating on the future, and we won't either," Mr. Fitzwater said.

Europeans believe they suffer most when Japanese-American trade relations turn stormy. This is the "deflection" argument, whereby Japan, under American pressure, agrees to contain its exports to the United States and then tries to sell more products in Europe to compensate. In Europe's view, it holds this second-class status because the United States market is far more important to Japanese manufacturers. Last year, the American trade deficit with Japan was \$58.6 billion. By contrast, total trade between the European Community and Japan was \$30.7 billion, with Europe running a \$16.7 billion deficit.

But the European trade deficit with Japan grew much faster last year than did the American figure. European officials see this as strong evidence that Japan is deflecting exports to Europe from the United States. Accordingly, European criticism of Japanese trade practices has become increasingly frequent and barbed, while Japan's efforts to open its own markets to foreign products have been found wanting.

"The Japanese concessions, although they could seem tempting in form, have always been found very deceptive in their contents," said Willy de Clercq, the Economic Community's trade commissioner.

Different Tactics

European and Canadian trade complaints against Japan largely echo those in the United States, but their tactics have differed. Canada, which has a smaller market than Europe's, has been the most reluctant to start trade fights with Tokyo. "We don't engage in Japan bashing," said David Preston, acting director of Japan relations for Canada's Department of External Affairs.

The Europeans have often moved more quickly and forcefully to protect their markets than the United States and Canada. "Voluntary" restraints on Japanese auto imports are an example. Britain limits Japanese imports to 11 percent of its market, France to 3 percent, and Italy

to a few thousand cars. By contrast, the American brand of restraints has been milder, allowing Japanese imports to have about 20 percent of the market.

The European governments, which are generally less committed to free-trade principles than Washington, have also imposed restrictions on a broader array of imports. Earlier this month, Britain said it would speed up new rules giving London added powers to retaliate against what it says is Tokyo's unwillingness to open its markets to British rivals. Since the 1960's, European nations have curbed shipments of Japanese sewing machines, textiles, cigarette lighters, binoculars, steel, quartz watches and other goods. One reason that Japanese trade policy pays more attention to American complaints, according to a Japanese diplomat, is that "many of the European markets are already so closed to us."

An Added Incentive for Japan?

Some economists have argued that protectionism reflects a Maginot line approach to trade policy, insuring that Japan moves into higher technology and maintains a competitive edge. That view is summed up by two University of Geneva economists, Gerard and Victoria Curzon, in the coming June issue of *The World Economy*, a London quarterly. "Protective action in one area simply gives added incentive to Japanese producers to seek out new areas not yet subject to restraint, thus accelerating the process of structural change in Japan," they conclude. "With their policy of putting out fires as they ignite, the Europeans are merely kindling new ones."

Yet political considerations, not economic ones, carry the most weight now as Japan's surpluses swell and economic growth in the West slows. "The whole discussion has gotten away from economic reality," said Hugh Corbet, director of the Trade Policy Research Center, a London group. "Now, politicians feel under an obligation to do something, even if it's wrong. That seems to be the attitude both in Europe and America."

Industrial Nations Act to Limit Technology, but Is It Too Late?

Tightening the Reins in Ballistic Missile Race

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN JR.

IN South America, Argentina and Brazil are to be the proud new owners of ballistic missiles. On the subcontinent, India leads Pakistan in the race to obtain powerful missiles. Asian nations that rim the Pacific — the Koreans, Taiwan, Indonesia — are climbing the technical ladder toward mastery of missile technology. In the Middle East, count Israel, Egypt, and Syria among the missile states.

In every case, the missiles and the technologies to build them were bought, either wholly or in part, from more advanced nations. And in every case, the nations involved either have or might someday develop the capacity to build atomic weapons.

A ballistic missile and an atomic warhead is a deadly mating of technology, and now the advanced industrial democracies are objecting to the marriage as the bans are being read. Last week, in a bid to limit the potential for nuclear war, seven nations — the United States, Japan, Britain, West Germany, France, Italy and Canada — adopted common policies to limit the exports

of virtually all technology that might assist other nations in building missiles.

Experts in measures to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons lauded the agreement, reached after four years of secret negotiations, as a major step forward. But they warned that restraining the international development of missiles would not be easy. "It surely represents a very substantial step toward limiting access to the means to deliver weapons," said Paul Leventhal, director of the Nuclear Control Institute, a Washington research center.

India is expected to be the next nuclear missile power. While India's detonation of a nuclear device is well known, few people have paid attention to the development of the nation's space program. Indian scientists have been quoted over the years as saying that the missile could be converted into an intermediate range ballistic missile with a 400 kilogram payload and a range of 930 to 1,240 miles. The new export controls seek to prevent development of rockets able to carry 500 kilograms (1,100 pounds) as far as 300 kilometers (190 miles), which experts consider the lower limits of a militarily useful nuclear missile. India, like all other nations, is being asked to control its missile technology exports;

while India is not thought likely to export its technology, it is not expected to formally adopt the controls.

A much more troubling case is Brazil, which not only is moving fast to develop powerful missiles, but also has been willing to export them. Iraq, for example, has used Brazilian missiles in its war with Iran. Brazil's most powerful rocket, called the Sonda IV, can carry an 1,100-pound payload 625 miles. Plans call for adding a third and fourth rocket stage, using the improved vehicle to launch a satellite, and then perhaps using a derivative as a ballistic missile for military purposes.

The China Source

According to Brazilian officials, many of the technologies used to improve the nation's missiles are coming from China, a nuclear missile state. Argentina, Brazil's neighbor, is striving not to be outdone. In 1985, the magazine *International Combat Arms* reported that Argentina was working with Italian and West German rocket experts on a new missile called the Condor, with a range of about 800 miles.

Israel is believed to have moved long ago to acquire both nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them. A French concern, Marcel Dassault, designed the original

Jericho, a two-stage Israeli surface-to-surface missile that, according to 1985 reports, was given longer range and deployed with nuclear warheads in the Golan Heights and the Negev Desert. Documents left in Teheran by Israeli diplomats spoke of an Israeli project to move advanced missiles for sale to the Shah before he posed in 1979.

Years ago, the United States gave outmoded Hercules air defense missiles to South Korea. With improvements, the Koreans have shaped it into a surface-to-surface missile; estimates have put its payload at 1 kilogram and its range at 250 miles. Some published reports have hinted at Taiwanese cooperation with Korea missile program. Other reports have spoken of Israeli cooperation with Taiwan.

The Soviet Union, which was told of the new export controls last week during Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to Moscow, is said by arms control experts to support the idea of multilateral restraints on the spread of missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Senator John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat, is one of the skeptics who say the effort to constrain missile development represents something of a retreat. One Pentagon expert argued that controls can be made to work because advanced missiles are beyond the capability of most developing nations to make without assistance.

"Even in the United States," the expert said, "we had the bomb before we had the intercontinental missile."

Paris Sees Vindication of Policies as Chad Repulses Libya

In Africa, France Is Still a Military Power

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

AFTER a highly publicized meeting with Muammar el-Qaddafi in Crete two years ago, President François Mitterrand of France received some of the most intense criticism of his long career. Conservative critics said Mr. Mitterrand had been duped by Colonel Qaddafi while the Libyan leader was in the process of reneging on an agreement by both countries to remove their troops from Chad. Critics portrayed Mr. Mitterrand as glib and accused him of wavering in France's commitment to poverty-stricken Chad, a former French possession torn asunder by civil war.

France sent its troops back to Chad early last year as Libya again threatened to push toward central Africa. Now, Chadian success in driving out Libya's forces seems to have vindicated the French-Chad's victories, which were ignored by the official Libyan press accounts last week, even as Mr. Qaddafi "celebrated" the first anniversary of the American bombing raid on Tripoli, may well stand as a high water mark of a longstanding French policy. To maintain its world position, resisting decline into what the French nervously call "medium power status," Paris has



A French paratrooper in Zaire after 1978 fighting.

kept a military presence in sub-Saharan Africa, guaranteeing the security of numerous members of a colonial empire that, in many respects, has disappeared only nominally rather than in reality.

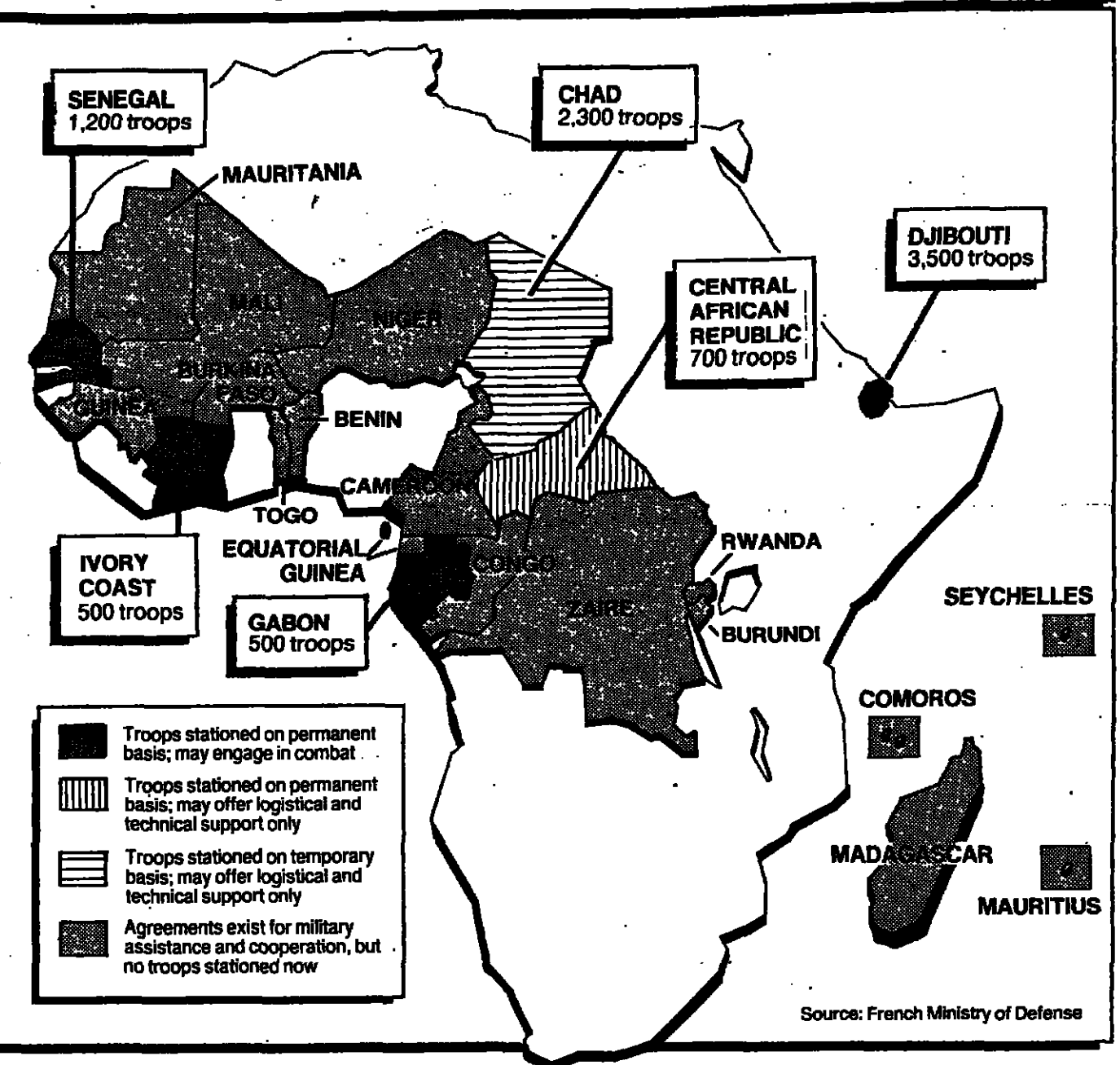
French policy makers like to draw comparisons with Britain's postcolonial behavior. London granted independence to its African possessions in a spirit of resignation, largely withdrawing except for business ties. France, by contrast, has stressed military and political cooperation to maintain an African presence, which is nearly as important to French national pride as its nuclear deterrent and its seat on the United Nations Security Council. "It was easy for the British to just withdraw from their former colonies, because, for them, American strength is a kind of historical continuation of Britain's former role in the world," a French Foreign Ministry analyst said. "For us, it has always been necessary to be present outside of our own borders."

Since the colonial era ended in the 1960's, France, alone among European countries, has kept troops in its former African dependencies, among them the Central African Republic, Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Djibouti. And France three times sent troops to protect the Government of Chad from Libya-supported insurgents.

The numbers involved, about 13,000 French troops throughout the continent, are not large. But with mobility assured by air and superior technology and weapons, small French forces have often played a decisive role. Moreover, the military presence has been combined with economic aid, financial help to African students in France, extensive private business interests — there are more French businessmen in Ivory Coast now than before independence — supplying teachers and civil servants who work in African government ministries, and sponsoring summit meetings and conferences with the French-speaking countries. Last year, for example, when Togo, a country formerly administered by France under a United Nations mandate, was attacked by raiders from neighboring Ghana, a former British colony, the dispatch of a few dozen French troops from bases in the Central African Republic was enough to quell the threat.

The French policy, which is warmly appreciated by the United States, is an important part of the heritage of President Charles de Gaulle. In deciding to accept decolonization, General de Gaulle announced in 1960

France's military presence in Africa



that "the building of African states must proceed with us, or it shall proceed against us." France gave up colonial control, but it quickly signed military agreements with the new independent countries, preserving a power and influence on the continent not all that different from the days of empire.

In 1979, for example, when Paris withdrew support from Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the self-proclaimed "emperor" of the Central African Republic, he was promptly ousted and replaced by David Dacko, who had French support. French troops have remained in the Central African Republic ever since.

Since 1959, France has intervened militarily in 10 of its former colonies, beginning in the early 1960's when it helped Cameroon suppress a Soviet-backed insurgency. In 1964, French troops went into Gabon to put

down an uprising led by an opposition leader, thus preserving the presidency of Leon M'ba. In 1977 and 1978, France intervened in Zaire, when the country's Shaba province, formerly known as Katanga, was attacked by separatist rebels based in Soviet-backed Angola. Zaire, formerly the Congo, was a colony of Belgium, not France. But as a French-speaking country, it has gratefully welcomed French protection.

If all of this has a flavor of neocolonialism, the disparaging label often used by Libya and the Soviet Union, it has nonetheless been done with the consent of the African leaders, a group that has been cultivated by every French President since de Gaulle. In Chad, Mr. Mitterrand's Socialist and by the means of a Gaullist, has pursued France's African policy to one of its biggest successes.

Liberal-Democrat Alliance Gaining as British Elections Near

Is the Labor Party an Endangered Species?

By HOWELL RAINES

BY midweek, politicians were streaming out of the capital for Britain's protracted "Easter hols," and that may be the best news the Labor Party and its leader, Neil Kinnock, have received all year. Recent polls showed Labor 10 to 13 points behind the Conservatives, but barely holding out second place over the Alliance of Liberals and Social Democrats, which hopes to displace Labor as one of the two major parties. On Thursday, a new Gallup survey put the Conservatives at 40.5 percent, the Alliance, 29, and Labor slipping to third at 28.

A new outbreak of internal feuding added to Labor's grief, as disgruntled leftists denounced the party leader as "Kamikaze Kinnock." "Stop this man before he loses Labor the election," exhorted a party tabloid. Kinnock aides said the attack showed his success in curbing the influence of the "loony left." But it stung because it echoed mainstream criticisms of Mr. Kinnock's "ridiculous 28-minute audience" March 27 with President Reagan.

Many Laborites felt Mr. Kinnock's trip to Washington came across as feckless in comparison to Mrs. Thatcher's triumphant visit to Moscow a few days later. Instead of giving him an aura of statesmanship, the trip spurred talk about possible successors if Mr. Kinnock leads the party to defeat. So on balance, both Labor and its fiery Welsh leader need the holiday to collect themselves for an election that the bookmakers and many members of Parliament expect in June.

This is also a time for the party to study the lessons of history. Labor emerged 63 years ago alongside the Conservatives as one of Britain's two major parties. Its ideology came from socialist theoreticians, its votes from unions that arose from the Industrial Revolution. Founded in 1900, Labor took only a generation to supplant the Liberals, who had been a powerful force through the 19th century, but who had been slow to react to the new demographics of the 20th. In 1924, Ramsey MacDonald formed the first Labor Government. By the 1960's, Labor was a mighty force that called itself "the natural party of government." But now demographic change may be grinding against Labor. Union power and working class solidarity are fading in Britain, and socialist thinkers fret publicly about the appeal of their economic philosophy.

No one believes the party will collapse overnight; it has too many safe seats in northern England and Scotland for that. What they fear is that another big defeat at the hands of Mrs. Thatcher could start a withering process like the one that broke the Liberals early in the century. "You can't write their obituary," said John Curric, author of "How Britain Votes." But a string of defeats and a defection of its right wing to the Alliance could end Labor as a "national party capable of forming a government," he added. "I think the answer is that we can see the edge of the precipice. Whether the bus will go over is no longer clear."

To tighten Labor's hold, Mr. Kinnock is arguing that, for the Prime Minister's foes, a vote for the Alliance is wasted. "You can protest against Mrs. Thatcher by voting for just about anybody," says Mr. Kinnock. "But you can only replace Mrs. Thatcher by voting Labor."

Indeed, even with its decline in the polls, Labor still gets a big boost from the way its vote is concentrated in some parliamentary districts. Because Alliance supporters are spread evenly over the country, they hold only 27 of the 650 seats in Parliament. Even if the Labor vote fell below 30 percent, far more than the Alliance could, with a similar vote. But while the deck is stacked against the Alliance, both major parties fear its potential for attracting moderates over the course of several elections. The Conservatives, in fact, have cooled their attacks on the Alliance after discovering that the polemics were actually making the Alliance more attractive to swing voters who dislike Mr. Kinnock's policies and Mrs. Thatcher's personality.

A Critical Test

After the holidays, Mr. Kinnock faces the critical test of raising his personal approval ratings — a major factor for his party in a general election. Poll takers say his call for the removal of all United States nuclear missiles from England and the junking of Britain's independent force of nuclear missiles has put a cap on his popularity and on Labor's support.

To try to pop this cap, Labor will be attacking Mrs. Thatcher's record on health care, education and unemployment — venerable issues for which the party will offer its old-time remedy of public spending and appeals to class loyalty. This formula, which lifted Labor to power six decades ago, may be losing its force.

"The country has changed its structure



Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labor Party.

and values," said Peter Hutton, an analyst for Mori Opinion Research International. "The country is less class conscious. As far as people are now thinking 'I'm not working class,' the traditional base is gone. Labor has a lot of people whose ideology goes back to the 20's and 30's. They haven't caught up with the way the world is working and that is a liability."

The Alliance presents itself as understanding how Mrs. Thatcher has reshaped Britain's politics. It offers Thatcher-like approaches with the sweeteners of social compassion and a government that will referee the economy.

The main drama of this next election will be about whether Mrs. Thatcher becomes the first Prime Minister this century to win three consecutive terms.

But on a deeper level, it is also a contest about survival — Mr. Kinnock's as a party leader and Labor's as a major party. From Mr. Kinnock's point of view, he and his party could hardly have gotten off to a rougher start in the trial heats for the approaching campaign.

Assad's Troops Try Anew to Widen Control

Pax Syriana Unfolds Under Close Scrutiny in Lebanon

By IHSAN A. HIJAZI

IT is as if the Syrians had never left. Soldiers dressed in red uniforms and steel helmets man checkpoints built of bricks and sandbags in most streets of mainly Moslem West Beirut. Foot patrols armed with machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades provide an imposing presence long lacking in this lawless city.

Seven thousand Syrian troops came here in February and began to control the reign of terror by gunmen who had fought savage battles with complete disregard for the civilian population.

For the Syrians, it is a repeat performance. Their army occupied West Beirut and other parts of Lebanon in 1976 with a mandate from Arab governments to put an end to a civil war that had broken out the year before. The war continues, and on its 12th anniversary this month, Lebanese are as divided and despondent as ever. But at least they are not killing each other with the same frequency and ferocity as before.

President Hafez al-Assad rushed his army to save Beirut from destruction at the hands of rival militias. Why the Syrians would want to come back to the Beirut quagmire is a puzzle to many Lebanese. President Assad said his motives were humanitarian and political, to save the capital from annihilation. But Syria's foes maintain that Syria intends to annex Lebanon, citing what they describe as Syria's old plans for creating Greater Syria, which would comprise all of Lebanon. They also refer to the pan-Arab ideology of Mr. Assad's Baath Socialist Party.

Hard-line Christian leaders have opposed a pact proposed by Damascus and its Lebanese allies, the Shiite Amal movement, the Druze Progressive Socialist Party, and some of the anti-Arafat Palestinians. Syria's enemies fear the pact because its provisions could provide a pretext for annexation.

But moderate Christians, such as former President Suleiman Franjeh, see Syria as the only power able to stop pro-Iranian zealots from creating an Islamic state in Lebanon. Syria supports Iran in its war with Iraq, but it fears pro-Iranian influence in Lebanon. Two days after their arrival in West Beirut, Syrian soldiers killed 23 activists of the extremist pro-Iranian Party of God. Only two weeks before, the Party of God had plastered the city walls with posters advocating a Khomeini-style state headed by a Moslem cleric.

Syria regards Lebanon as a soft belly, always worrying that its enemies will use this country as a jumping-off ground to strike at

Damascus. "Lebanon's security is part of Syria's" is a slogan often repeated by Syrian officials. Syria believes Yasir Arafat, chairman of the P.L.O., is a threat to that security. State-controlled news outlets in Damascus have accused Mr. Arafat of inciting the fighting between Palestinians and the Amal Shiite militia at refugee districts in Beirut and southern Lebanon.

Two weeks ago, Syrian soldiers moved into two districts in Beirut, ending five months of siege of the Palestinians by the Amal militia. Then a Syrian army unit was deployed at the edge of the southern port city of Sidon. The official explanation of the deployment was to end a violent confrontation east of Sidon between the P.L.O. and Amal.

It is widely believed here that Syria will soon move troops into Sidon itself, which would also mean they would be in control of two large Palestinian districts in the vicinity that are strongholds for Arafat supporters. The Syrian argument is that all Arab guns must be aimed at Israel and all energies devoted to liberating occupied territory. The Israelis still occupy a six-mile deep and fifty-mile-wide "security zone" in south Lebanon.

Militias Go South

The Syrian deployment in West Beirut has prompted some militias, especially Amal and the Party of God, to relocate hundreds of their men in southern Lebanon. The shift of fighters has produced an increase in attacks in the zone against Israeli troops and their surrogates, the South Lebanon Army, a 2,000-man Lebanese Christian force.

The new concentration of Shiite fighters in the south, coming as it did after a Palestinian guerrilla buildup in the Sidon area, has led to changes in Israeli military tactics. Israel has made several air strikes against suspected P.L.O. bases near Sidon, and Israeli troops, backed by helicopter gunships, have been making surprise attacks against Shiite villages where Israel says resistance fighters have been hiding.

So far, the Israelis have not been too displeased by Syria's deeper involvement in Lebanon. In south Lebanon, Israel appears to feel that Syria would clamp down on Arafat loyalists who form the majority among Palestinian guerrillas in the Sidon area and Shiite zealots who are responsible for the largest number of attacks against the Israelis and their proxies in the South Lebanon Army. But they say they are carefully watching how far the forces will go. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin says Damascus knows the scope of Syrian troop deployment that Israel will tolerate. Israeli and Syrian military presence, plus a Palestinian and Shiite buildup, make the south a powder keg with a short fuse.

The Nation

A Deadline Passes Superfund Creeps Slowly Toward Cleanup Goals

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

WASHINGTON UNDER the law Congress passed nearly seven years ago to protect the public and the environment from the dangers of abandoned toxic waste dumps, a grand total of 13 sites have been completely cleaned up. Considering that there are tens of thousands of such dumps around the country, perhaps 20,000 of them seriously contaminated, the record can hardly be called impressive.

But a new day may be dawning. Last year Congress drastically amended the law, providing cleanup timetables, standards of cleanliness and opportunities for local residents to participate in planning. Above all, there was a lot more money: Congress authorized \$8.5 billion over five years for the program now widely known as the "Superfund." J. Winston Porter, assistant administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, said the agency would spend \$1.2 billion on the program this year; Congress provided \$1.6 billion for all of its first five years.

Still, some members of Congress and many environmentalists say that the agency has been slow and tentative in using its new muscle. Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, the New Jersey Democrat who is chairman of the Senate toxic waste subcommittee, said, "They are not getting off the ground; they are sliding through the mud." He said that the Reagan Administration had tried to limit the toxic waste program and was now "dragging its feet."

Representative James J. Florio, also a New Jersey Democrat and one of the authors of the Superfund legislation, complained about what he said was unnecessary delay in carrying out a provision that communities with toxic waste sites receive up to \$50,000 in technical assistance, so that they could be knowledgeably involved in a cleanup. Under the timetable, he noted, decisions must be made this year on remedies for 12 toxic waste sites in New Jersey alone. But the E.P.A. told the state that no grant money would be available until next year, he said.

Mr. Porter said that it is taking

time to carry out the new amendments because "we have to deal with the complexities" of turning the law into regulations. Nevertheless, Mr. Porter said he is confident that the cleanup schedules will be met. He said many companies, realizing that their legal fees for fighting cleanup orders were equaling the cleanup costs, were beginning to volunteer remedies for their inactive dumps without waiting for E.P.A. action.

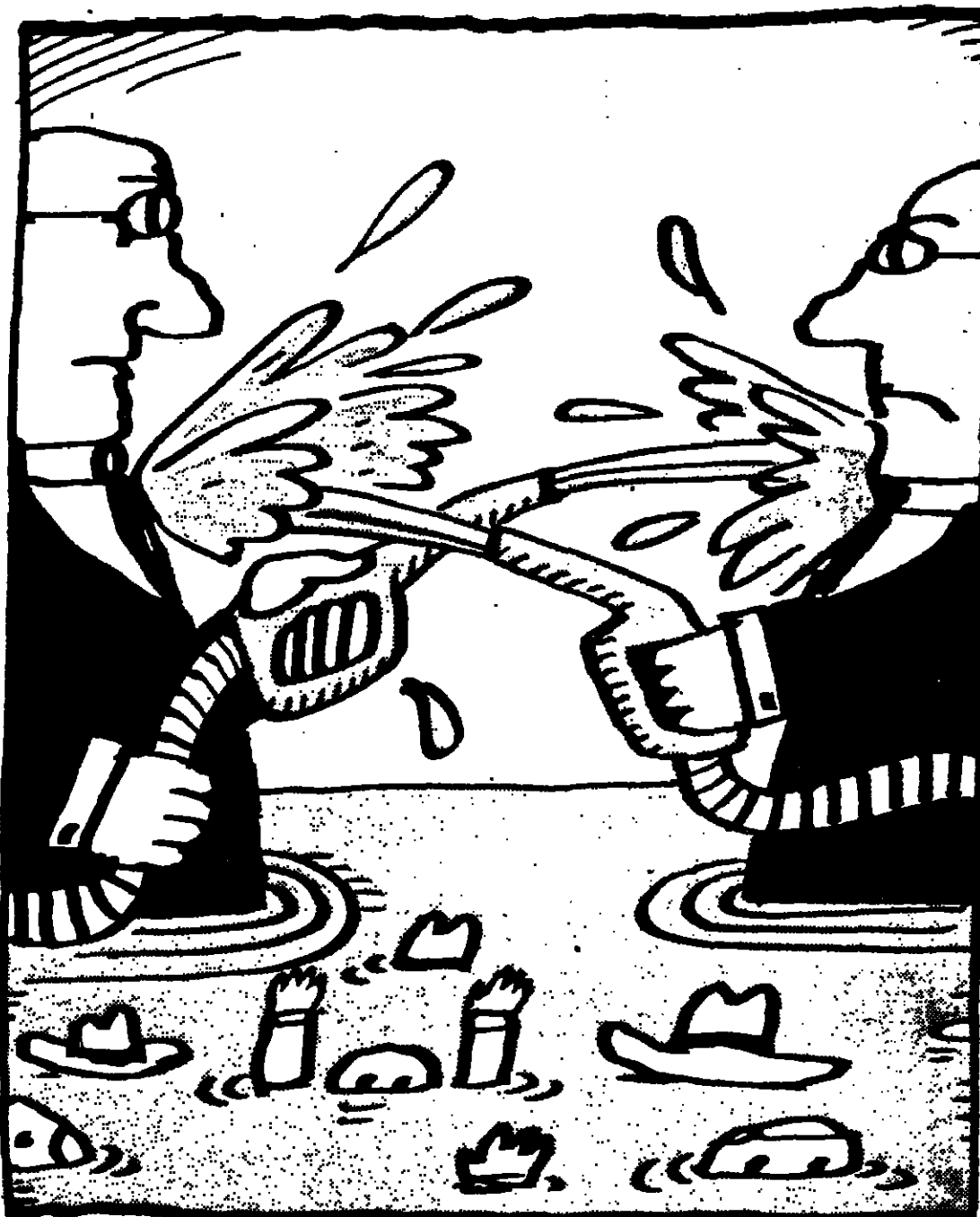
The first of the new amendments' deadlines went by on Friday; all state governments were supposed to establish commissions to plan for hazardous waste emergencies, such as an accidental release of toxic chemicals. Mr. Porter said that fewer than half of the states had actually named commissions, but that state governors' staffs were drafting the plans in those cases.

The new amendments require the agency to clean up sites economically but also to do the kind of job that will permanently protect public health and the environment. In the one cleanup plan devised so far, environmentalists say, the agency seems to be concentrating on economics at the expense of quality. The National Campaign Against Toxic Hazards, which conducts grass-roots campaigns against polluters, asserted recently that that plan, for cleaning up the Ottati and Goss waste site in Kingston, N.H., would leave relatively high concentrations of polychlorinated biphenyls, a toxic material used in electrical equipment.

"There is a tendency to use the laxest standards," said Jacqueline M. Warren, a lawyer and toxic substances expert for the Natural Resources Defense Council, a national environmental group. An agency official said that striking a balance between cost and a stringent cleanup was a difficult problem and one the agency had not yet resolved.

Lee M. Thomas, the E.P.A. Administrator, insisted that the agency had built an "effective" toxic waste program. While only 13 sites have been removed from the agency's problem list, he contended, hundreds have been given enough attention to remove all danger to public health. The agency, he said, is "up to the challenge" of the new amendments.

Bankruptcy Filing Is Largest Ever



Stuart Goldberg

Over 2.7 Billion Barrels, Texaco Seeks Protection

By THOMAS C. HAYES

DALLAS ALL-Street had mercilessly beaten down the stock prices of companies throughout the oil industry by the end of 1983, a consequence of slipping energy demand and rising production by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Established players in the business already had moved to build their reserves through multi-billion-dollar acquisitions. Aggressive deal-makers, like T. Boone Pickens, were stalking their own quarry. Buying other companies' oil was cheaper, quicker and more certain than the high-cost gamble of drilling for it.

J. Hugh Liedtke, co-founder and chairman of

the Pennzoil Company, thought he had succeeded in bringing his company into the top ranks when directors of the Getty Oil Company voted 14 to 1 on Jan. 2, 1984, to accept his offer of \$3.6 billion for a billion barrels of Getty's oil.

Four days later, though, John R. McKinley, chairman of Texaco Inc., seized the "chance" to overcome what analysts regarded as Texaco's woefully unfruitful exploration efforts. He outbid Mr. Liedtke. The Getty directors accepted his offer of \$10.1 billion for all of Getty and its 2.7 billion barrels of oil.

Last Sunday's astounding bankruptcy filing by Texaco, by far the largest ever in American business, was the most hair-raising development yet in the three-year-old battle over whether Getty's deal with Mr. Liedtke was legally binding. So far, a jury and four judges in Texas have concluded

that it was. Texaco, calling the \$10.3 billion judgment against it "outrageous," is appealing.

The bankruptcy relieved Texaco from the need to post an \$11 billion bond to continue appealing in Texas courts — a sum that, according to Texaco, was causing some of its suppliers to refuse to extend credit. And it made Pennzoil just one among hundreds of thousands of unsecured creditors, although certainly the largest.

But the bankruptcy also choked off about \$1.7 billion in annual payments of dividends and interest to Texaco's stockholders and lenders. It sowed confusion and uncertainty about Texaco's future, particularly among its smaller suppliers, many of whom were already in financial trouble because of the contraction of the American oil industry. And it raised the prospect of a nightmarish complex reorganization that could take years to untangle if a settlement is not struck soon. All of these factors could encourage Texaco again to explore a truce with Pennzoil.

As a practical matter, the bankruptcy means all of Texaco's debts prior to last Sunday are frozen. Creditors and lenders are to be paid for all transactions initiated since the filing, a provision common to all bankruptcy reorganizations under Chapter 11 of the Federal code.

But those already suffering from the Texaco filing are legion. If not for the Pennzoil debacle, Texaco's shares, held by 278,000 stockholders, would be trading at close to \$63 a share, analysts say; the closing price Thursday was \$31.25. Its list of 20 top creditors includes the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company and one of Texaco's principal outside law firms, Cravath, Swaine & Moore. The firm's David Boies, a high-profile lawyer, was hired by Texaco within days of the jury award against it in November 1985. Texaco owes Cravath, Swaine \$1.04 million.

A Calculations Gap

In Texaco's view, Pennzoil's damages should be no more than \$500 million, plus interest. Its lawyers have argued that if, indeed, Texaco enticed Getty to break a valid contract, Pennzoil's actual loss was \$493 million. That is the difference between the \$128 a share that Texaco paid and the \$112.50 Pennzoil expected to pay for the 31.8 million shares it planned to buy.

Pennzoil, in turn, argued in the trial that it would have had to spend about \$10.87 a barrel over 25 years to discover the 1,008 billion barrels that it would have bought from Getty for an average of \$3.40 a barrel. Pennzoil figured Texaco's interference cost it \$7.47 a barrel, or \$7.53 billion.

Unfortunately for Texaco, its lawyers never presented the Texaco computation of damages to the jury — in retrospect, a badly misjudged tactical gamble. Once the jury ruled in Pennzoil's favor, the only figure for actual damages was the \$7.53 billion computation presented by Pennzoil. The jury added \$3 billion in punitive damages because Texaco had pledged to indemnify key parties at Getty from the breach-of-contract suits they apparently feared Pennzoil might file.

The tremendous gap between Pennzoil's \$10 billion award and Texaco's assertion that damages should not exceed \$500 million has made an out-of-court settlement elusive. Mr. Liedtke said last week that Pennzoil would be "bought by shareholders if it lowered its price for a truce. Mr. Liedtke has not disclosed that price, but it is believed to be between \$4 billion and \$5 billion.

For his part, James W. Kinnear, successor to the retired Mr. McKinley as Texaco's chief executive, has balked at any settlement over \$2 billion. With nearly \$35 billion in assets, and a net worth of \$13 billion, Texaco agreed in court documents filed earlier this month that it could find a way to pay Pennzoil's full claim if it ultimately lost the case.

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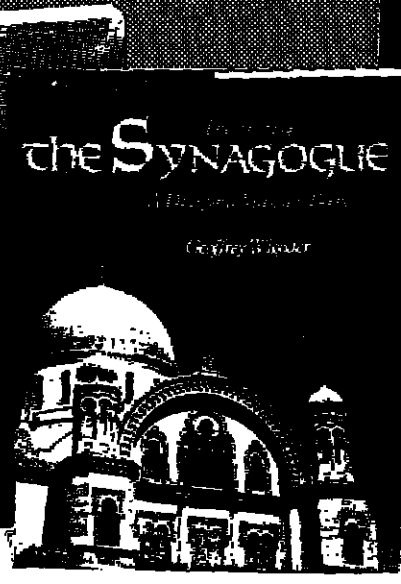
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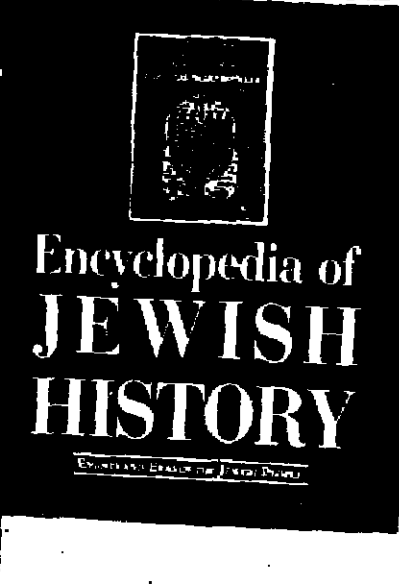
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The Crash of '87

Each week brings fresh evidence for prophets of economic doom: Brazil defaults on its foreign debt... The monthly U.S. trade deficit hits \$15 billion... The dollar falls to new lows against the yen... President Reagan succumbs to pressure for retaliation against Japan. And for the first time, responsible officials like Fed chairman Paul Volcker openly speculate about a world financial crisis. Is the crash of '87 in the works?

No. A 1929-scale crash followed by a collapse in economic output is highly unlikely. If there were a collapse now, governments would swiftly shore up the banking system and restore consumer purchasing power. What is possible, however, is a plunge in the dollar that triggers a severe recession. Even if crisis never comes, the international economy could easily fall into gridlock as debtors cut back on foreign purchases, developed countries stagnate and the world's poor tumble further into poverty.

Governments know the risks, and even agree broadly on measures needed to protect the stressed financial system from breakdown. What's lacking is strong leadership — leadership to make the tough political decisions to match the new realities of economic interdependence.

Not many years ago, America dominated international commerce. Today, America shares top billing with Japan and Western Europe, while smaller countries like Saudi Arabia and Brazil have become important actors. Dependence is now mutual.

The big Reagan tax cut of 1981 dramatically increased consumer purchasing power at the expense of domestic saving. That temporarily suited Japan and West Germany, which were delighted to supply the U.S. with goods and to invest the dollar pro-

ceeds. But that sent up the value of the dollar, leaving many U.S. producers uncompetitive and creating yawning imbalances in trade. Meanwhile, sharp declines in the price of oil and other raw materials made it almost impossible for developing countries to service their foreign debts. The flow of new capital to Latin America and Africa has stopped, and with it their demand for American goods.

Huge U.S. trade deficits cannot be indefinitely sustained with infusions of foreign capital. Virtually everyone agrees that a continuing stalemate on debt will wreck the Latin economies and destabilize their politics. There's even broad agreement on what must be done to right the economic balance.

Washington must credibly reduce the Federal budget deficit by raising taxes as well as cutting spending. Further efforts to protect American companies from foreign competition must be resisted. Most important, all the economic powers must rethink their obsolete domestic growth strategies.

Japan needs to sever the link between prosperity and the growth of exports to America, diverting surplus savings to domestic uses. Europe and Japan must renounce the costly agricultural protectionism that feeds their trade surpluses and depresses world commodity prices. America must take the lead on Latin debt, orchestrating concessions by banks and offering government capital through multilateral lenders.

If the outlines of a fix are clear, what's stopping it? Every reform means pain for someone, and the current generation of leaders lacks the political will to exact it. No one expects overnight solutions to problems a decade in the making. But the leaders of the industrialized world show little inclination to move in the direction they know is right. Until they do, the world economy will remain at great risk.

Faith, and Freedom

Holy Week: the week of Easter, and also of Passover, a week to think of renewal and freedom, as good a week as there is to believe anew that faith can move mountains. In a cathedral in Cape Town and in a mansion in Moscow, people gathered for religious services seemed to believe it.

The service in South Africa was convened to do precisely what the Government had just forbidden: Protest the detention without trial of thousands of South Africans. Black and white, Jew and Christian, joined by the American ambassador, some 800 protested the state of emergency that has put an estimated 30,000 in jail.

"My plea is for you to rise up and revolt against this ban," said Dr. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. "This is not the madness of just one man; this is the madness of a Government which has long ago lost all legitimacy and can only live out its last days compound-ing the evil it has begun."

The police gave the protest a wide berth, and the Government seemed to soften slightly. It hadn't intended to outlaw prayer in a bona fide religious service, an official said. But religious leaders didn't

intend to stop there, either. They urged the congregation to take the protest beyond the cathedral walls. "If these actions, undertaken in obedience to God's demand, lead to possible charges and imprisonment, so be it," said one.

On the same day, another group gathered in the home of the American ambassador in Moscow. Here some 50 "refuseniks," long denied permission to leave the Soviet Union, joined in a Passover seder. They celebrated the feast of emancipation, these men and women, many of them only recently freed from prison or exile. Secretary of State Shultz joined them, an Episcopalian in a white yarmulke. He had brought kosher food and wine from the United States, and gifts: a handsomely bound copy of the seder ritual for one guest, a picture of another's grandchildren in America. "You are on our minds," he told them. "You are in our hearts. We think about you and pray for you."

Two governments denying liberty and justice... Many faiths, asserting that such injustice must be opposed. In this Holy Week of 1987, they were heartening reminders of the strength, and warmth, of religion enlisted in the service of freedom.

Fear and the Feerick Commission

To win funding for his new Commission on Government Integrity from the New York Legislature, Governor Cuomo went along with the sacrifice of his choice for chairman, Joseph Califano. That was a heavy price; Mr. Cuomo recovers it with interest by naming John Feerick, dean of the Fordham Law School, as chairman and Cyrus Vance, former Secretary of State, to another vacancy.

The Legislature, fearing Mr. Califano's independence and determination, forced him out on grounds that he is not a New York resident. Neither is Howard Simons of Harvard University, which resulted in the other opening. Before the Feerick Commission is through, legislative leaders who insisted on the switch may wonder whether their fearful stunt backfired. Dean Feerick is an experienced labor lawyer and scholar, thoroughly familiar with

government if not streetwise in New York politics. The commission will benefit from his judiciousness, though for this position he may tend to carry quiet discretion too far. The commission needs to speak indignantly for the public, as well as to investigate objectively.

New York is routinely victimized by politicians who know the weaknesses of contracting, lobbying, campaign finance and judicial selection laws. Many of those same politicians sought to sabotage Mr. Cuomo's commission by denying it funding, and approving an "ethics" bill that contained more loopholes than law. Mr. Cuomo vetoed the bill and called the Legislature's bluff on Mr. Califano. His point is heartening: We will have an honest corruption investigation. Some New Yorkers know how to stand up for what is right.

Dream House

Millions of Americans grew up in houses that looked like this one, and many of those people are still around to remember what living in them was like.

They remember tall staircases, seven or so bedrooms and only two baths. They remember yelling "Hurry up" to siblings who were too long in the tub; and suppers that were as much wrestling matches as meals. They remember reading in a musty attic for hours at a stretch and thinking that that attic was the only place they could find privacy. No matter how many the rooms in such a house, somebody, it seemed, was always in them.

Privacy isn't a problem anymore. According to the Census Bureau, the average number of people per household today is 2.67, the least ever. That means most of us are now free to bathe, eat and read in peace. We don't need the 20-pound box of detergent or the roast to serve eight; and those of us who do are mostly new immigrants. To be an American is to aspire to a room of one's own. Still, there's something magical about this old house: It conjures up a family of grandparents, parents, children and an occasional aunt or uncle, all living companionably under one roof. They had their differences, but



also similarities, like a taste for coffee ice cream or a game of old maid. And while they did not respect exterior boundaries — all that banging on the bathroom door! — they didn't trespass on inner space.

In truth, however, the house is as much an illusion as the household: it was built in 1898 for a little girl's dolls. No matter. It still looks like something a lot of Americans might like to live in. Some of them, privacy or no, might like to live in that family, too.

Letters

The TV Evangelists Thrive on Skepticism

To the Editor:

I am surprised at the surprise of pollsters and critics that the audience of the television evangelists is largely skeptical of what they see and hear. Your television analysis (Home Section, April 2) starts on the right track in concluding that the evangelists are "good at what they do." They are, but that's just the beginning.

Television folk have tried so hard to please an audience that they seem to have forgotten how to reach an audience. The evangelists shout in your ear that they are out to reach people, not to please an existing audience. And they have done a good job of both recently. Tell them that 50 percent of their audience doesn't believe, and they shout "Praise the Lord." Is there a commercial show on the air that hits better than 50 percent of its target audience?

Evangelization has seldom played before a favorable house through the centuries. That's why we have so many saints: the evangel is a message that is taken before those who don't believe — the skeptics, the hostile, the powerful, the people who can skin you alive.

The pity is that the true saints in our day, those who evangelize with their deeds, who serve in poverty to be at one with the poor, who tend those sick with AIDS, who seek justice and peace at the cost of their

lives, that those people are now eclipsed from our attention. About which ought we to be more concerned: Terry Waite's continued absence or a one-night stand in some motel?

(Rev.) JAMES J. REID
New York, April 2, 1987

What Calvin Stood For

To the Editor:

Prof. Stanley Page (letter, April 5) is quite wrong in linking the greed of television evangelists with the thought of the Swiss reformer John Calvin. Calvin never taught that financial success "proved" one's salvation, or that "enormous wealth and a magnificent home" were "proof of God's blessing." Indeed, he called such presumption a "devilish error." Even less ought Professor Page to associate Calvin with the very un-Christian view that poverty is a sign of God's displeasure.

Although Calvin taught, as Martin Luther did, that secular vocations were as pleasing to God as the clerical calling — and in that way made a place for commerce in Christian life — he was always suspicious of great wealth, which, he once wrote, "corrupts even the best of us." For Calvin, the accumulation of money and property was tolerable only if it provided for those in need by way of employment or charitable giving. In no case

did Calvin approve of any personal display of affluence or a life style of conspicuous consumption.

Calvin's own way of life provides a sharp contrast to the pomp and prosperity displayed by television evangelists. He eschewed public office, held no titles, lived frugally on a modest stipend, and by his own instruction was buried in an unmarked grave. To identify such a man with the self-serving acquisitiveness of modern capitalism and thus, by extension, with the rapaciousness of popular evangelism is grotesque.

The problem with Jim Bakker, Jimmy Swaggart, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson is not that they have followed Calvin, but that they have ignored him and all other great interpreters of Christian faith. Their self-referential theology confuses altruism with self-interest and so moves inevitably from self-deception to public fraud.

ALEXANDER J. MCKELWAY
Princeton, N.J., April 6, 1987

The writer, guest professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, is professor of religion at Davidson College.

Old-Time Folk Religion

To the Editor:

To some of us at Harvard Divinity School, cosmetics sold by the PTL Club or salad dressing suggestions proffered by hosts of the 700 Club are not offensive. Oral Roberts's dramatic scrap with Satan and Jimmy Swaggart's swath through Central America strike us as uneventful and common. All these gentlemen parallel historical figures of folk religion.

Take, for example, Fra Roberto Caracciolo, a "prediche vulgare," or "vulgar preacher," who whipped up the crowds of Florence around the time Columbus set sail. Some said Fra Caracciolo dressed too sharply for a priest; with horror, Erasmus once watched him rip off his habit to reveal livery and crusader's armor underneath. The fifth Lateran Council of 1512-17 took strong measures to get rid of these medieval pulpites.

At the core of most religious movements, notably the Crusades, one also finds adventure and an elusive enemy to be sacrificed. Adventure — travel, apostolic dangers, sacrifice and, of course, souvenirs, all characteristics of the Crusades — can also be found in an inverted way through television evangelism. Heritage U.S.A., the PTL Club's Christian amusement park in South Carolina, reputed to receive six million "pilgrims" a year, strikes us as a new quest for the Holy Grail. Fra Caracciolo would have felt comfortable in Jim Bakker's playground.

People need a Walt Disneyified Christ. Yet this is no aberration of the faith, only an enduring characteristic of religion at the popular level. People need to conceptualize abstract issues of belief, and for this to happen, the ideas must be made concrete in objects that are familiar and accessible. The living-room atmosphere of the 700 Club is a sacred setting and no less comforting than, say, a Romanesque backdrop in religious art. Mr. Roberts, after all, chose to build a glass and steel skyscraper in Tulsa, not a remake of Solomon's temple. The familiar, in a strange turn of events, becomes the mystical. That is why the evangelist Jimmy Swaggart likes to wave a Bible overhead. People feel good when they see it. It reflects back to them the values they have invested in it.

And what of the "prediche vulgare"? Is buying a brick for Pat Robertson's university or some Christian pantyhose from Tammy Bakker different from purchasing a twig from the True Cross in old Jerusalem? Perhaps not. We move into an electronic age now, and it is possible that, a century onward, scholars will treat the rift between the warring evangelists with as much scrutiny as the controversy between Paul and Barnabas at Antioch.

JAIME MARDIS
RACHEL PURPEL
Cambridge, Mass., April 6, 1987

Van Gogh Would Have Been Horrified

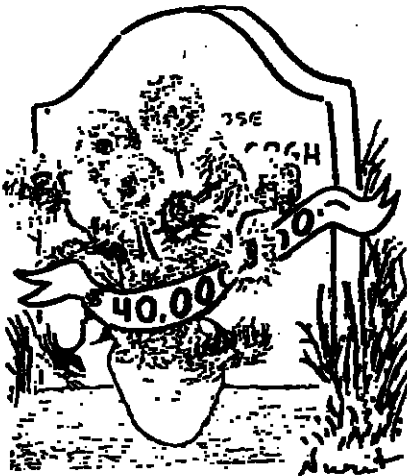
To the Editor:

In your front-page article on the sale of van Gogh's "Sunflowers" for \$40 million (March 31), there is a mistake that gives a false impression of Vincent van Gogh's character.

You speak of the "canvases that van Gogh himself best described in one of his letters: 'It has the effect of a piece of cloth with satin and gold embroidery; it is magnificent.'" The quotation is not in one of Vincent's letters, but from his brother, Theo, acknowledging receipt of several pictures. Theo wrote: "In general people like the night effect and the sunflowers. I have put one of the sunflower pieces in our dining room against the mantelpiece. It has the effect of a piece of cloth with satin and gold embroidery; it is magnificent" (page 546, Volume III, "Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh," Greenwich, Conn.).

While van Gogh knew his work would receive recognition, he was always conscious of its falling far short of what he intended. A small sampling from his letters shows his constant modesty:

"Here and there some of my work will last"; "a canvas I have covered is worth more than a blank canvas"; "Gauguin was telling me the other day that he had seen by Claude Monet a painting of sunflowers in a large Japanese vase, very beautiful, but he likes mine better. I do not agree —



only don't think I am weakening," and (in evaluating the high praise of his painting by Albert Aurier) "I do not paint like that, but I see in it instead how I ought to paint."

Vincent van Gogh would have been horrified by the \$40 million! All he wished for was to regain the cost of the paint. Proposing ways to reform the art trade, he added: "Alas, we are not yet there with the old trade, which will always follow the old routine, which benefits no one" — no artist — "and does no good to the dead either."

ARTEMIS KARAGEUSIAN
New York, April 5, 1987

Highway Math

To the Editor:

Your coverage of the fight over the veto and override of the highway bill has been first-rate. There were, however, two errors in arithmetic in your April 3 Washington Talk page interview with Senator Terry Sanford of North Carolina, headlined "Democrat Changed His Mind 3 Times." The text states that Senator Sanford voted three times. If he changed his vote three times, then he must have voted at least four times.

"His vote," you say, "made the final count 67 to 33, the precise margin required for an override." Strictly speaking, 67-33 is precisely the minimum required for an override. An override requires any vote from 67-33 to 100-0.

JOHN W. GOPPELT
Haverford, Pa., April 4, 1987

First Lady

To the Editor:

I think A. M. Rosenthal is wrong in wanting to abolish the title First Lady (column, March 29). In the 1930's, I was young and working in New York City, and had two tickets for a speech Eleanor Roosevelt was to make for the Summer School for Workers at an apartment on 57th Street. I invited my mother, a good New Jersey Republican. When Mrs. Roosevelt came in, my mother, probably the oldest person in the room, stood up. The others looked grumpy, but stood up too. On the way home, my mother said: "Well, I made all those fat, lazy New Yorkers stand up. You may not approve of her, but she is the First Lady of the land." I think that was a sensible and civilized remark.

MARY RISK HINE
Sea Cliff, L.I., April 2, 1987

Our Warsaw Embassy Was Fun, but Where Was the Security?

To the Editor:

In Warsaw, not a great many years ago, I decided to take a cab from my hotel to the United States Embassy. I'd been told that the embassy had a good coffee shop, and after several days of local heartburn, I'd have killed for a medium-well hamburger and french-fried potatoes.

As the cab pulled up to the rear of the embassy compound, I was greeted by the sound of abusive language in what was unmistakably American English.

It came from the balcony of the embassy and was being directed toward young Polish women pedestrians in the street, who were going past that part of the building. On the balcony, four young marines complete with crew cuts, beer cans and fatigue shirts were catcalling and insulting the local women as they walked down either side of the street.

An occasional beer can was thrown to bring their point across.

I paid the driver, who motioned me toward the entrance guarded by two Polish policemen. One of the policemen skimmed my passport and moved aside.

Walking through the rear parking area, I heard laughter and voices that seemed to be coming from a small door in the center of the building. I entered. To my left was a small room.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or return unpublished letters.

People were gathered there, laughing, talking and having drinks.

To my right was what appeared to be a supermarket. I said hello to a tall young woman, who had asked who I was. I mentioned the publication I worked for and told her I was in Warsaw on assignment.

I offered to show her proof of my identity. She laughed. "Nah, that's O.K.," she said. She suggested that I should see their information officer. Then she motioned to a Marine security guard in an adjoining booth, who buzzed us through a heavy door.

We entered the inner hallway as she told the guard the name of my magazine. They spoke for a moment, then I continued down the hallway, within the confines of a United States Embassy in an Eastern European country without ever once having been asked for any form of identification. At this point, I felt that the Polish police outside the compound were the only security force in the area.

My arrival upstairs, in what was likely an even more sensitive part of

the building, was no different from the back-door impromptu cocktail lounge. I asked the personnel upstairs if they wanted to see any identification, and the casual "Nah, that's O.K." was delivered once more.

I left that embassy compound with a good-news, bad-news feeling about the day's events. The good news is that it was a fun place, that Warsaw embassy. Hamburgers, french fries, lots of pleasant visitors from other embassies to talk and joke with, not to mention the bottled beer at 25 cents a pop.

The bad news is a balcony filled with drunken, abusive marines and a total lack of anything vaguely resembling security in a United States Embassy situated in perhaps one of the most sensitive outposts of Eastern Europe. Recent embassy events in Moscow come as no surprise to me and probably many other visitors to that part of the world.

BILL LEE
New York, April 2, 1987

The writer is humor editor for Penthouse/Omni magazines.



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Why We Should Root for Gorbachev

By Alexander Yanov

America seems to be of two minds about Mikhail S. Gorbachev. Some think it fair to give him a chance. Others believe that he is a fraud and is not to be trusted — unless he commits something suicidal like, say, "discarding the ruling ideology." Still others would like to have it both ways: While ascribing to Mr. Gorbachev dictatorial powers, as if he were a Stalin, they still expect him to pursue liberal policies, as if he were a Gary Hart.

Let me add another shade or two to this spectrum. I believe that Mr. Gorbachev's success may be our last chance to revitalize John F. Kennedy's grand vision of a world safe for diversity. I also believe a Gorbachev failure may well turn out to be our own disaster. And, finally, I believe that his success or failure depends on us no less than that of his predecessor in Soviet reform, Nikita S. Khrushchev, did.

My field of expertise is political change in the Soviet Union. It deals mostly with the theory of change. Yet it still has a few practical considerations to contribute to our Gorbachev debate — if only because it calls into question some of our deeply ingrained stereotypes.

One of these assumes, for instance, that Soviet tactics may change, but policy objectives will not. What the theory of change tells us is that the very nature of the Russian political process is antagonistic. Hence, priorities and objectives of each new regime in Moscow negate those of its predecessor. De-Stalinization after Stalin, de-Khrushchevization after Khrushchev and the de-Brezhnevization now in progress in Moscow must have made that obvious by now, Soviet rhetoric notwithstanding.

The general pattern is that a dictatorial regime, such as Stalin's, distinctly favors guns over butter; a regime of reform just as distinctly prefers butter to guns, while a regime of political stagnation, such as Leonid I. Brezhnev's, tries to combine both.

It follows that the traditional stumbling block for any reform in Moscow is the military's dominance of the Soviet economy. Not only does it prevent the reallocation of resources from guns to butter that constitutes the core of reform, it also generates a militaristic mentality ruinous for the spirit of liberalization.

This is why to demilitarize the Soviet economy is as imperative for Mr. Gorbachev as it was for Mr. Khrushchev. Yet as Mr. Khrushchev's experience proved, such

Alexander Yanov, who left the Soviet Union when Leonid I. Brezhnev was in charge, teaches Russian history and Soviet politics at the City University of New York.

demilitarization is out of the question as long as the rival superpower continues the arms race. Indeed, Mr. Khrushchev paid with his political life in 1964 for his failure to get America's cooperation in blocking the arms race. Can there be any more convincing proof that to get such cooperation today is literally a matter of life and death for Mr. Gorbachev?

Another stereotype has it that outside influence can affect Soviet politics only marginally. In fact, the extent of this influence differs drastically from regime to regime. While a dictatorship is practically impenetrable to it and a regime of stagnation can indeed be influenced only marginally, a regime of reform is highly vulnerable to outside pressure — precisely because of its imperative of demilitarization.

Consider the case of a reformer, like Mr. Khrushchev, trying to resist the pressures of his military establishment while the rival superpower continues to widen the already tremendous missile gap (1:4 by 1964). Didn't it give his domestic rivals an unsurpassed opportunity to present the reformer as a civilian incompetent recklessly risking national security? No Russian reformer in history has been able to win such an impossible war on two fronts: against

the domestic and international foes of reform. This is how, in fact, the Soviet Union's latest attempt at a sweeping turn from guns to butter was crushed in 1964.

True, it would have been impossible to ruin a Stalin or a Brezhnev by outside pressure: The policies of guns are immune to it. It is only the policies of butter that succumb. America did it to Mr. Khrushchev. America can do it to Mr. Gorbachev as well. The problem is only in what lies beyond Mr. Gorbachev's political demise.

The theory of change supplies an answer to that. Every single Russian



Larry Carroll

reform in the past either degenerated into a dead season of stagnation or was directly reversed by a brutal counter-reform (this is why Russia's political system is still premodern). If this 500-year-old pattern holds, there is no Thomas Jefferson waiting in the wings in Moscow.

The only choice we really have in case Mr. Gorbachev fails is between the revival of Brezhnevism and a regeneration of Stalinism. Which one would we prefer? Hardly anyone in America would fancy a Stalin at the helm of a nuclear superpower. What about a new Brezhnev then? Let's compare the records of Soviet reform and stagnation.

For all his sins, Mr. Khrushchev didn't have the slightest intention of closing the missile gap. Mr. Brezhnev responded to it by a crash program of "rearming Russia," which resulted in the greatest nuclear buildup in history (before Ronald Reagan). Mr. Khrushchev put on the table a program of nuclear disarmament. It disappeared from the Soviet agenda under Mr. Brezhnev. Mr. Khrushchev was the first leader to break the traditional Russian secrecy and agree to on-site inspection of disarmament. Mr. Brezhnev refused even to talk about it. Mr. Khrushchev cut Soviet conventional forces in half. Mr. Brezhnev increased them. Mr. Khrushchev put an end to Soviet territorial expansion. Mr. Brezhnev invaded Afghanistan. Mr. Khrushchev needed détente with America as a condition for demilitarization and reform. Mr. Brezhnev needed it to get American technology for remilitarization and as a substitute for reform.

To summarize, what Brezhnevism brought the Soviet Union by abandoning the course of reform was social decay, cultural paralysis, militaristic paranoia and moral decrepitude that culminated in the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. What Brezhnevism brought the world by its nonstop nuclear buildup was a *raison d'être* for President Reagan's "Star Wars" obsession and an intellectual torpor that allowed arms control to degenerate into regulating the arms race.

Yet the most dangerous, and potentially calamitous, legacy of Brezhnevism is the threat of a repetition of Chernobyl on a much grander scale — in case Mr. Gorbachev's de-Brezhnevization fails. Fortunately, this depends on us, too.

Here is just one example of what America does to avert his demise. So far, we have responded to Mr. Gorbachev's proposal to eliminate nuclear weapons before the year 2000 either by dismissing it as outright utopia or by complaining that nuclear disarmament would augment Soviet preponderance in conventional forces.

In a similar situation, President Kennedy responded to a similar Khrushchev proposal in a very different way: He didn't dismiss it or complain; he took the lead. He countered with his own Outline of the Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament of April 18, 1962.

Why not restore Mr. Kennedy's legacy in Washington just as Mr. Gorbachev is restoring Mr. Khrushchev's in Moscow? Everyone over there talks nowadays about what went wrong in post-Kennedy America. Everyone knows that Brezhnevism meant intellectual lethargy in Moscow. Yet didn't it mean the same in Washington? Aren't we indeed in need of de-Brezhnevization as much as the Russians, the only difference being that, unlike them, we don't realize it?

Whatever emerges from last week's discussions between General Secretary Gorbachev and Secretary

ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

Spies I Have Known

During the last week I was in Poland as a correspondent, three people tried separately to entrap me — a doctor, a writer, an architect.

They were decent people ordered by the police to find out what I knew about the never-published defection of a Polish military attaché. I was leaving under an expulsion order issued because of annoyance with my reporting. It was not connected to the attaché affair, about which I knew nothing.

The three men were drafted into the effort by the Polish secret police, who were apparently trying to work up some kind of charges against me before I left. They had no option but to obey or face continuous harassment. They understood that and so did I.

Earlier and later, I met various kinds of agents of Communist intelligence. At the United Nations, I met a jovial K.G.B. agent accredited as a journalist but almost out in the open who specialized in offering royalties to American reporters, even if they hadn't actually written any books.

At the United Nations I also met a Soviet newsman who later turned up in Afghanistan with Nikita Khrushchev as his personal aide. In India I knew a longtime *Izvestia* correspondent. I saw him four years later in Ghana, where he was in a different trade — running to Communist-backed groups in the Congo.

Those Russians were professional agents. They did not have to be pressed into service, as were the Poles, by the police. They were the police.

All over the world, I met Russians, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians — news people, musicians, economists — who routinely reported everything they saw to their local embassy. They were neither agents nor people pressured by the police into informing, just Soviet-bloc citizens carrying out instructions, doing their duty of working for the state wherever they were.

All this was as early as the 40's and as late as this year. It comes to mind because of all the talk about espionage — bugged embassies, seduced marines, traitors, trials.

American espionage generally is carried out by the C.I.A. Soviet intelligence is part of the job of the K.G.B., a vast police army whose main job is to control Soviet society — or by the K.G.B. equivalent in Soviet bloc states.

That difference touches the lives of millions.

The U.S. uses Government employ-

ees — C.I.A. and military agents — and any useful foreigners they can inveigle. The K.G.B. also uses agents and foreigners but its real asset is its ability to order every citizen at home or traveling to report.

Soviet journalism, of course, is particularly useful as a cover and arm of K.G.B. work.

Routinely, the K.G.B. finds journalistic spots abroad for its agents. Some disguise it, others do not bother.

Like the jolly K.G.B. fellow at the U.N. After a couple of drinks, he would offer reporters money to have their books published in Moscow. If they said they had not written any books, he said they could count it as an advance.

One night, asked where most of his news dispatches appeared, he winked and said on wall papers in factories.

Not every Soviet journalist abroad is an official K.G.B. man. But any Soviet journalist who does not agree to cooperate fully with the K.G.B. not only would never get a second assignment, but would not receive his first.

The few American reporters who did intelligence work for the United States were considered disgraceful by their peers.

The idea that doing intelligence work would be wrong for a Soviet journalist runs directly counter to the Soviet concept of the citizen's duty to the state. And every Soviet journalist knows that

journalism particularly is considered to be an instrument of state interest.

But when pressure has to be applied, it is. In Warsaw, in 1959, the first to question me about the attaché was a friend, a writer, an anti-Communist. I was stunned that he had asked me anything about something obviously top-secret. He said frankly that if he hadn't asked, he would have lost his meager freelance living.

The second was the doctor called for a sick son. Sitting on a packing case, he asked me about the attaché. I learned later that minutes after I had telephoned, he had been summoned by the police and told what to ask.

The architect — he asked me to take a packet of letters out of the country. A day earlier a brave Pole had warned me that would happen.

These three — and earlier the Polish editor ordered to seat me in a restaurant next to a wall listening device — were all paying part of the price of being allowed to continue working.

I was neither angry nor indignant. I knew I had never been put to the test myself. And I knew I was the lucky one — I had the passport out. □

WASHINGTON | James Reston

Shultz's Easter Miracle

HISTORY may, as so many cynics have said, be merely a record of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind, but it also has its miracles.

We have endured for so long the conflict between Moscow and Washington, and between capitalism and communism, democracy and dictatorship, that most people can scarcely believe that relief from these tensions is within the range of the possible.

Yet here is Secretary of State Shultz back from Moscow in Holy Week like an answer to the world's prayers for peace, speaking about a break in the tension and a realistic control of nuclear weapons.

Is it a miracle or a mirage? Nobody knows, but for once during the festival of Easter and the Passover, even unbelievers are beginning to hope.

Not all of them, of course. Suppose, some say, Mikhail Gorbachev does agree to get rid of all medium-range missiles in Europe, what about the short-range missiles?

Even suppose he makes a verifiable deal on short-range missiles, wouldn't this leave Europe vulnerable to Moscow's massive conventional armies and split the Western alliance?

In any event, what about Afghanistan, and Nicaragua, and the imprisoned Jews behind the Curtain?

These are relevant questions, and leave much to be negotiated, as Secretary Shultz has conceded, but what has already been achieved would obviously have been regarded a year or so ago as a minor miracle.

We are only at the beginning of the beginning of the most complicated set of negotiations in the history of modern diplomacy, but we are a long way from the days when President Reagan was talking about the folly of doing business with the "evil empire."

We are even a long way from the last summit meeting in Iceland, where the President made alarming offers without consultation with the allies or even with his own military chiefs of staff.

The Administration is at last proceeding cautiously, seeking one verifiable compromise at a time with the full knowledge of the Cabinet, the Joint Chiefs and the allies. In so doing, it will be reasonably sure that whatever treaties it signs will have the advance knowledge of the Con-

gress and the allies, and the support of the people.

Obviously the fundamental political and philosophical differences between these two continental nuclear giants will remain. Even if they agreed on everything that Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gorbachev discussed in Moscow, both still would be left with enough nuclear weapons to blow up the world.

But they have made a start toward limitation and verification, which if continued may build confidence for other steps toward a safer world. At least they have made us see, not the reality, but the possibility of better relations.

This in itself is something. For both sides had been drifting into a kind of hopeless acceptance of inevitable tension if not war. Now, however, we have a chance to recall that in the past there have been similar conflicts between mutually exclusive systems that seemed absolute and inescapable but finally were tempered if not resolved.

Toward the end of the last century, the tension between France and Brit-

ain provided the most imminent threat to European peace. Yet within a few years, alarmed by Germany, they were signing the Entente Cordiale.

In our own time Franklin Roosevelt was imploring us to "remember Pearl Harbor," but now we are sitting around in our Toyotas hearing on our Sonys that the only thing we have to fear is Japanese trade.

Perhaps it is only by doing hard things with our minds that we can imagine the religious deadlock and wars of the 16th and 17th centuries that ended after unspeakable carnage only through acceptance of the principle of toleration and religious freedom.

But miracles do happen occasionally. General Washington thought our own Constitution was a miracle 200 years ago and Ben Franklin regarded it with both skepticism and hope.

"I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve," he said in the closing speech at Philadelphia. "But I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long [he was 82 at the time] I have experienced many instances of being obliged, by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions."

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The New York Times

THE KEY IS AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Turning Japan Into an Importing Nation

By SAM NAKAGAMA

As evidenced in plummeting bond prices and soaring interest rates, the microchip war has badly shaken the international financial markets. Unfortunately, the recent United States tariffs on certain Japanese electronics products appear to be only the first in a series of moves to protect American high-tech industries. The battering sustained by Wall Street early last week suggests that investors anticipate further protectionist steps that threaten to undermine the domestic economic and financial system, which now depends heavily on the inflow of Japanese capital.

Destructive as it is, the microchip war will do nothing to realign the basic forces that are producing the enormous trade imbalance between the United States and Japan. A much more promising route is through agricultural trade. In fact, the opening of agricultural markets is the most important single step that could be taken to hasten the process of reducing Japan's excessive emphasis on exports and expanding its imports.

To understand the importance of Japan's agricultural policy one must first understand a series of economic problems brought about by the twin effects of a soaring yen and the development of 24-hour financial markets encompassing New York, Tokyo and London. First, the fact that food prices in Japan remain sky high means that urban dwellers have benefited little from the 77 percent appreciation of the yen over the last two years. Rice is about five times the world price, a cup of coffee costs about \$3 and beef goes for \$20 a pound. However, the currency's appreciation has hurt Japan's urban residents, producing the first wide-scale layoffs of industrial and salaried workers in the postwar era.

At the same time, the arrival of the 24-hour market has brought an influx of foreign banks and securities houses to Japan, as well as the expansion of financial companies. The result has been a tremendous property boom, with real estate prices climbing 76 percent in Tokyo last year following a 30 percent rise in 1985. In 1986, residential property prices in Tokyo climbed 77 percent on average and as much as 183 percent in the choice locations. Tokyo's real estate prices are 10 times New York's.

As Kenichi Ohmae, a business strategist for McKinsey & Company, has pointed out, the high cost of urban land is largely the result of Japan's high price supports for rice, which in turn have curbed the conversion of farmland into urban uses. This issue may sound insignificant to Amer-

icans accustomed to wide open spaces, but it is quite important in Japan, where 67 percent of total land area (versus 28 percent in the United States) consists of mountainous, forested terrain that can support only the most limited development. About half of the remaining area is taken up by agriculture and will remain in farmland until Japan undertakes a sweeping transformation of its agricultural policies.

Except for Switzerland, Japan has the highest rate of agricultural protection among the major industrial countries (see chart). While total income from rice growing runs about \$20 billion a year, about two-thirds of that is derived from governmental subsidies and excessive prices. The rice-support system results in the exploitation of urban residents by part-time farmers who derive most of

Not only is the high cost of housing the foremost complaint of urban dwellers, the shortage of living space restricts household spending. Cramped quarters means that the increasingly affluent Japanese have no space to put new and larger appliances, furniture, TV and stereo sets, and even clothing. Thus, a major improvement in the supply of housing at lower prices would likely trigger a spending boom, as urban residents moved up to a higher standard of living. Japan would begin importing not only more food but also a great many other things that go into a more affluent life style. In effect, this would generate a steep rise in domestic demand, bringing more imports in train.

By opening up its agricultural markets, Japan would figuratively "import land," helping to ease the short-

For example, in its latest rulings, the Japanese Supreme Court still permits a rural vote to be worth up to three times that of an urban vote. Because the Liberal Democratic Party has depended heavily on the rural vote to maintain its majority in Parliament, it has strongly favored the farmers in its economic policies. The primary responsibility, however, lies with the Supreme Court, which has so far lacked the gumption to call for "one person, one vote."

The economic and political situation, however, is now changing in a way that should bring major changes in farm policies. After the Liberal Democrats captured 304 of 512 seats in the last Lower House election, key party leaders came to realize that the party's future lay with the urban vote. Moreover, the old generation of farmers is dying off while few of their sons or grandsons want to farm.

At the same time, the super-strong yen is exerting enormous pressure for change. Because industrial employers cannot afford generous pay raises in the face of strong deflationary pressures, they now have a sudden interest in lowering food and housing costs as a way of improving the real incomes of their employees while expanding domestic demand. Since big business interests provide the major financial support for the Liberal Democratic Party, a shift in their interests could make a critical difference.

The fact that the reform of agricultural trade is at the top of the agenda for the economic summit meeting in Venice in early June will make it easier for Japan to accept changes in agricultural policy. As happened in England with the suspension of the Corn Laws beginning in 1846, the freeing up of agricultural imports could bring major economic benefits to Japan while helping to improve its trade relations with the rest of the world and especially with the United States. But the Corn Laws were lifted only after a major reapportionment of Parliamentary seats under the Reform Act of 1832. Similarly, a Japanese Supreme Court ruling in favor of "one person, one vote" might be the fastest way to achieve agricultural reform in Japan.

Rather than pushing the Japanese Government to adopt dictatorial powers to control trade in microchips, therefore, the United States would achieve far better results by advocating more free trade and a more democratic electoral system in Japan. It would be much more in the American political tradition if we were to urge Japan to adopt a "one person, one vote" rule. It would also do far more for our economic interests than agreements to limit trade and raise prices.

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Texaco filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy reorganization in a move intended to keep Pennzoil from seizing any assets. Facing a court decision that it must post a \$12 billion bond as it appeals a jury award to Pennzoil for interfering with Pennzoil's deal to buy Getty, Texaco said it had no choice after Pennzoil rejected a \$2 billion settlement offer. But it placed only its corporate parent and two financial subsidiaries into Chapter 11, hoping to keep its operating units relatively untouched. James W. Kinnear, Texaco's chief executive, said the bankruptcy filing eased fears among its suppliers. Indeed, Texaco's stock suffered less than Pennzoil's.

Analysts viewed the filing with mixed feelings, noting that while it solved some of Texaco's immediate problems, Texaco now is less likely to settle with Pennzoil. That could allow the resolution to drag on for years.

The danger of a recession looms if interest rates are pushed up by the Fed in an attempt to halt the fall of the dollar, the director of the budget, James C. Miller 3d, warned. Mr. Miller said a rise in interest rates would reduce economic growth that is already close to moribund. That would have grave political consequences, he said. The warnings of Mr. Miller and a number of economists and analysts came as the fall of the dollar continued, sparking concern among European allies that their growth, too, would be affected. And it followed news that the trade gap widened in March, to \$15.06 billion, the third-biggest deficit ever.

James A. Baker 3d moderated statements he had made previously that the dollar had not fallen enough, saying a further drop in the dollar could be "counterproductive." The statement by the Treasury Secretary helped to calm world markets.

Treasury issues regained some of their losses as interest rates began to stabilize. But stocks remained volatile, pulled down by the trade news but heartened when the dollar steadied. For the four-day week, the Dow Jones industrial average finished at 2,275.89, down 62.79 points.

Economic indicators remained lackluster, at best. Retail sales rose just two-tenths of 1 percent in March, and that only because of strong auto sales. ... Industrial output dropped three-tenths of 1 percent in March, and capacity use fell to 79.2 percent of capacity, from 79.7 percent. ... Housing starts slumped 3.2 percent in March, the first drop since November.

March, the first drop since November and one that could accelerate as mortgage rates rise. ... Business sales jumped 4.4 percent in February and inventories rose two-tenths of 1 percent, and the inventory-to-sales ratio fell back to 1.49.

Tariffs were imposed against Japan because of its semiconductor policies, and some analysts fear the move could escalate into a trade war that would threaten world growth. President Reagan announced the 100 percent tariffs on many models of televisions, home computers and power tools in a move the Administration hopes will force Japan to be



James W. Kinnear

more malleable in its trade practices. The phone access fee will rise by \$1.50, to \$3.50, over the next two years. The F.C.C. approved the increase, although its phase-in was delayed. The fee, also called a subscriber-line charge, should be offset by a corresponding drop in long-distance rates, the F.C.C. believes.

G.M. ended its executive bonus program in favor of one granting stock options. The bonus plan had come under fire because G.M.'s profits have dropped and it has laid off thousands of workers while continuing to pay the bonuses to executives.

A.T.&T.'s net income jumped 25.7 percent in the first quarter, more than had been expected. ... I.B.M.'s net fell 23 percent despite an increase in revenues. ... CBS earned \$48.7 million, nearly triple its earnings in last year's first quarter. ... GTE fell 6.4 percent. ... American Express net fell 21.4 percent and Merrill Lynch gained 25 percent. ... Philip Morris rose 22 percent and RJR Nabisco gained 6.8 percent. ... Digital soared 81 percent.

Borg-Warner agreed to be acquired by Merrill Lynch Capital Partners for \$4.32 billion, a bid that topped a secret \$4.19 billion bid by GAF. But GAF and its chairman, Samuel J. Heyman, may be pulling a new bid.

Unocal sued Goldman, Sachs and four Wall Street executives, saying they leaked information about Unocal's takeover fight with T. Boone Pickens in 1985. Unocal seeks at least \$2.4 billion in damages. Separately, three of the traders named in the suit — Timothy L. Tabor, Richard B. Wigton and Robert M. Freeman — pleaded not guilty to criminal insider trading charges. And Boyd L. Jeffries pleaded guilty, as expected, to creating false stock records and violating margin requirements.

Amoco and Dome Petroleum were reported to be close to an agreement on a merger plan under which Amoco would acquire the assets of one of Canada's largest oil and gas companies. TransCanada had offered \$3.29 billion for the assets of Dome, but was rejected. Dome is staggering under a huge debt burden.

Miscellaneous. Robins set aside \$1.75 billion for claims arising from its Dalkon Shield birth control device. ... International Paper stockholders rejected a request to vote on a poison pill defense against takeover attempts. ... Three top Taft shareholders joined forces and bid \$824 million for the broadcasting company, more than Dudley S. Taft has offered. ...

EMBATTLED CHAIRMAN: Mario Schimberni

The Duel for Dominance at Montedison

By ROBERTO SURO

ROME In Italy, Mario Schimberni is something of a management legend. Starting in 1980, when the board of Montedison S.p.A. installed him as chairman, Mr. Schimberni transformed the money-losing manufacturer of commodity chemicals and plastics into a profitable diversified holding company.

Crucial to his success was his ability to free Montedison, once known as a "bloated political football," from the domination of the government, its largest shareholder and creditor. Montedison is Italy's second-largest publicly held company.

At the same time he tried to limit the influence of Italy's elite handful of extremely wealthy families, turning Montedison into a public company in the American style, with more than 100,000 small shareholders. This made Montedison an anomaly, for almost all large Italian commercial enterprises are controlled by the Government or industrial patriarchs.

Mr. Schimberni's efforts won him a glowing review in a 1984 Harvard Business School case study, which cited him for "charisma, an iron will, creativity, flexibility, psychological insight and credibility."

But for all the prestige and success, Mr. Schimberni, 64 years old, is in trouble: One of Italy's powerful industrial families has moved in on Montedison. Raul Gardini, chairman of the Ferruzzi Group, a big family-owned sugar and chemicals operation, began buying into the company last year, and in March he increased the Ferruzzi family's stake to a commanding 37 percent.

On March 24, Mr. Schimberni and Mr. Gardini reached an agreement that keeps Mr. Schimberni in the chairman's post, but increases Ferruzzi's presence on the Montedison board of directors and in the top executive ranks of Montedison's various divisions.

Mr. Schimberni has only himself to blame for Mr. Gardini's involvement in Montedison. Last year, pursuing his strategy of diversification, Mr. Schimberni bought a big stake in La Fondiaria, an important insurance company, angering several powerful mercantile families who held much of the stock. Those families began to put pressure on their bankers, who were also Montedison's bankers, to rein in Mr. Schimberni.

Seeking a powerful ally, Mr. Schimberni turned to Mr. Gardini, inviting him to buy into Montedison. The Fer-

rucci chairman complied in a small and friendly way at first, but by December he held 27.6 percent of the shares.

In December, Mr. Gardini and three other big Montedison shareholders joined Mr. Schimberni for a dinner at Milan's Savini restaurant, where Italy's economic barons have planned alliances and betrayals for more than a century. That night the four investors, who collectively held more than 41 percent of the stock, proclaimed their faith in Mr. Schimberni and in exchange he agreed to consult with them more fully on company strategy.

A few weeks after the dinner, the board named Mr. Gardini vice chairman, and every Friday afternoon Mr. Schimberni met informally with the group of four to discuss strategy. The arrangement seemed to be working well until March 10, when Mr. Gardini announced that he had achieved effective control of the company by buying out the second-largest investor, Mr. Schimberni, who was out of the country when the deal was made, offered only one public comment: "I was not in any way aware of it."

Just how the new power-sharing arrangement will work at Montedison is now a subject of intense speculation in the cafes and restaurants around the Milan Bourse.

Mr. Schimberni comes from a modest background: His father was a barber in Rome and his mother a seamstress. As a youth he wanted to be a doctor, but could not afford medical school. He worked his way through the University of Rome and began teaching economics, developing special expertise in finance. After working in management jobs at various textile and chemical companies, he joined Montedison in 1975, and rose rapidly through the ranks.

Mr. Schimberni (pronounced skim-BER-ni) is known as a somewhat austere man. He is not a figure on the Milan social scene. Tea is his chosen beverage, and he eats sparingly, except for a once-a-week meal of Roman specialties prepared by his wife, Angela. He likes to read, primarily history and philosophy, and enjoys classical music. The family rarely vacations for longer than a week, and almost never in August, the Italians' favorite vacation month. The Montedison chairman considers August a good time to do business.

Asked once about the origins of his views on the role of the modern manager, Mr. Schimberni displayed a heavily underlined article by David Rockefeller, the former Chase Manhattan Bank chairman, published in

the Christian Science Monitor in 1980, the year that Mr. Schimberni moved into the Montedison chairmanship.

The article outlined what Mr. Rockefeller considered the ideal qualities of a chief executive in the year 2000 — a global perspective; a concern for strategy rather than day-to-day operations; a sensitivity to public opinion; great flexibility in responding to the marketplace, and skill at lobbying legislators, special interest groups and dissident stockholders. Mr. Schimberni's public statements often reflect these values.

While Italy has produced a number of top-ranked professional managers, such as Cesare Romiti at Fiat and Romano Prodi of IRI, the giant state holding company, Mr. Schimberni is notable for his protracted struggle to keep the company he manages free of the influence of government and patriarchal shareholders.

The 53-year-old Mr. Gardini, a decade younger than Mr. Schimberni, shares some of the elder executive's business views. As chairman and majority stockholder of the Ferruzzi family group, he also seeks to expand abroad and has even talked of making the family company a widely held public concern, as Mr. Schimberni did with Montedison. (Mr. Gardini went to work for the Ferruzzi company as a young man and later married the daughter of the founder.)

When Mr. Schimberni was named chairman by the board, with the strong support of the Government, he had a rare opportunity to put his managerial beliefs into practice. One of his first acts was to ease the politicians out. Arguing that privatization was essential to profitability, he convinced the Government to sell its 17 percent stake in the company.

The Government also agreed to take over many of the company's money-losing commodity chemical operations, allowing Montedison to shift its focus to profitable specialty chemicals. And the deceptively soft-spoken chairman, a balding, slightly built man, laid off thousands of workers, somehow managing to do it without stirring up lasting antagonism from Italy's powerful labor unions and labor-sensitive political leaders.

Mr. Schimberni quickly reorganized Montedison into seven autonomous units, each a different business requiring a different sort of management expertise. American, German and other foreign executives were brought in to help run these companies, because Mr. Schimberni believed that managers abroad were often more profit-oriented than their Italian counterparts.

"Schimberni basically imported some techniques of modern capitalism that had never been seen in Italy, and that is still taking a little getting used to," said Howard Harris, an American who for several years was one of Montedison's top strategists.

Pursuing diversification, Montedison became expert at joint ventures abroad. The best-known is Himont Inc., a joint venture with Hercules Inc., the American chemical company. Himont is the biggest producer of polypropylene, a versatile lightweight plastic.

With all these changes, Montedison's worldwide revenues grew to more than \$10 billion last year and, for the first time since 1979, the company produced a noticeable profit, about \$250 million. At Montedison's headquarters here, the achievement is known as "la cura Schimberni."

As a key part of his strategy, the chairman increased Montedison's number of small shareholders, so that he and his professional managers could concentrate on maximizing profits, free of infighting with powerful shareholder syndicates. The holding company's stock is quoted on six European exchanges. The stocks of Himont and two other subsidiaries, Austmont and Urbamont, are traded on the New York Stock Exchange, and Mr. Schimberni wants the holding company listed there eventually.

Whatever Mr. Schimberni's eventual fate, he continues to be an advocate of change at Montedison.

Some of that change is likely to come through drastic diversification. For instance, Mr. Schimberni is convinced that in Italy financial services and consumer credit offer rapid and profitable growth, and he is plunging Montedison into these activities, although the company has little management experience in the field.

But he sees change primarily taking place through expansion overseas. Addressing a group of American business executives and economists in Palm Beach, Fla., a few weeks ago, he chided them for being too oriented toward their domestic market.

Retail Sales
+0.2%
in March

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 16, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Texaco	26,166,600	31 1/4	- 1/4
IBM	18,036,800	24 1/4	+ 1/4
AT&T	13,497,400	150	+ 5
Dome	6,920,600	16	+ 1 1/4
G Mot	6,518,600	86 1/4	+ 3/4
Gen El	6,445,400	103 1/4	- 3/4
Exxon	6,094,800	88 1/4	- 1 1/4
Prime C	6,063,300	24 1/4	+ 2 1/4
UAL	5,765,200	72 1/4	+ 1/4
Sears	5,718,700	51 1/4	- 1 1/4
ITT Co	5,706,900	56 1/4	- 3/4
Fed NM	5,478,600	38	- 3
Am Exp	5,357,000	69 1/4	- 2 1/4
ICN	5,174,500	137 1/4	- 2 1/4
Bell So	5,127,400	37 1/4	+ 3/4

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
477	1,524	2,170	63	184
Week	1,437	2,185	235	66

VOLUME

4 P.M. New York Close	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	835,308,180	13,796,682,428
Same Per. 1986	719,262,700	11,077,469,793

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Chng
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	201.8	192.2	197.4	-4.31
Transp	140.5	133.9	136.5	-3.88
Utils	72.7	69.0	72.5	-4.37
Finance	152.1	144.9	148.5	-4.62
Commodities	155.6	156.6	162.5	-3.49

Standard & Poor's

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
400 Indust	340.8	320.4	-6.88
20 Transp	220.9	216.6	-2.74
40 Util	110.0	102.5	-10.4
40 Finance	28.8	26.9	-2.93
500 Stocks	293.3	275.6	-26.9

Dow Jones

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
30 Indust	235.6	221.5	-22.75
20 Transp	95.7	90.9	-26.17
15 Util	206.1	189.7	-20.41
85 Comb	876.0	821.9	-84.95

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 16, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Dome Ptrl	11,696,300	1 3/16	+ 5/16
Wicks	11,149,200	3 1/4	+ 1/4
WangLabB	2,720,800	15 1/4	+ 1
HomeShop	2,488,900	15 1/4	- 3/4
Echo Bay	2,142,500	40 1/4	- 3/4
Goldfield Co	1,787,900	1	+ 1/4
Block Eng	1,615,100	2 1/4	+ 1/4
NY Times	1,215,600	44 1/4	+ 7/8
WestDigital	1,163,100	24	...
Husky Co	1,144,000	8 1/4	- 1/4

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
194	598	835	35	48
Week	511	139	942	96

VOLUME

4 P.M. New York Close	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	70,962,760	1,122,416,925
Same Per. 1986	72,166,860	1,019,941,224

Letter from Russia

The following excerpts are from a December 17, 1986 letter sent by former Prisoner of Zion Alexander Paritsky, who is still being refused an exit visa.

Please do not be angry with me if I tell you a very old anecdote. The question of whether there is life on Mars was put to an Armenian radio station who replied: "There is no life there, either."

I would like to share this with you and answer your question about our life. For the past 10 years, our existence has been no more than a dull waiting for better times. But they—the better times—seem in no hurry to come, though time never stands still, and we gradually plunge into its abyss.

Everything is so unstable, with the exception of one stable and unchanging element in our life—our refusal. General secretaries and internal and foreign policies may change, presidents may be replaced and trends or directions come and go; time passes—full-scale socialism will have been achieved and the construction of true communism initiated. Voluntarism and thriftlessness will have been eliminated, the new economic policy and "openness" introduced and already finished or dead; amid all this, one thing has not happened and will not happen—we will not be granted an exit visa.

For all this terminology is simply different outdoor clothing for the same thing. The authorities do not want to let us, or Rimma (Yakir) or thousands of other poor things like us, go.

From time to time, at the beginning, it looked not only like a thaw, but even as if spring had already arrived. Yet, if you look and listen attentively you can see that in fact it is not so. It is merely an attempt to play the spring carnival with masks on a glacier. Some people have even taken off their outdoor clothes to show that it has become warmer; you see, ladies and gentlemen, spring is here, the spring winds are coming, you can take off your warm clothes, go on. But the people stand and watch this masquerade silently. They want to see how long it will keep going, whether the masqueraders will grow tired of beating themselves on their chests with their hands and of making faces in front of the screen.

These ladies and gentlemen have had considerable experience over the last 70 years, and they are well familiar with the wise saying, "You can repeat the word sugar over and over again, but it won't create a sweet taste in your mouth."

Openness is openness, but the articles of the criminal code remain the same, and whenever they need, whenever they need, can be sent with the greatest of pleasure on their part to chop logs and to develop arrhythmia. P.S. Don't be upset; every machine, even an awful one, is only a machine.



Ida Nudel (center) visits Lina and Yosef Begun in Moscow. Nudel was recently informed that her most recent request to migrate to Israel has been turned down.

Official 'broke his promise'

By LEA LEVAVI
TEL AVIV. — At a second Seder held at Wizo headquarters Wednesday evening by the Association of Former Prisoners of Zion, Wizo President Raya Jaglom—who is also president of Israeli Women for Ida Nudel—recounted her meeting last February with Samuel Ziv, deputy chairman of the officially sanctioned Anti-Zionist Committee in the USSR.

The meeting took place at a hu-

man rights conference in Geneva, where Ziv promised her that Ida Nudel would be allowed to leave "in 1987 or 1988."

In the interim, Jaglom says, the Soviet authorities failed to notify Nudel of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's breakfast invitation to Nudel, and after the prime minister left the USSR, Nudel was told her most recent request to emigrate had been rejected.

Jaglom recently called the Moscow

number Ziv had given her to remind him of his promise. Ziv had not been in the office, she said, but she left a message with his secretary. Ziv never called her back. "What kind of credibility does such an official have?" Jaglom said later.

Wednesday night's Seder was attended by Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Minister without Portfolio Moshe Arens and Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli Almoslin.

News calendar

ers, the imprisonment of my father, and an attempt to deprive me of his presence for an additional 10 years by means of fabricated drug charges.

All these events constituted the very essence of my childhood. You must agree my childhood cannot be described as a happy one. Although I was merely a child, I will never forget the 40 days of my mother's hunger strike, and the death of my grandparents who were unable to endure all these abuses. Now I have grown up. Today is the 35th day of my parents' hunger strike. Do you really want to take away my parents too? You have children. They also wish that their parents will remain alive and happy, as every child in the world wishes.

"As a young adult, I cannot be a dispassionate witness to the cold-blooded murder of my parents, and I declare my intention to join them in their hunger strike. Should our family suffer a tragic misfortune, it will be on your conscience, Mr. Gorbachev."

Today, Leonid (Eli) Yuzefovich, 37, a physicist who also has a PhD in chemistry, marked the 20th day of his hunger strike. He and his family have been trying to emigrate to Israel for seven years. He demonstrated in Pushkin Square from March 19 to 23. He was attacked, abused by hostile observers, KGB agents and women screaming anti-Semitic epithets. They also denounced the refuseniks who joined with him: former Prisoner of Zion Boris Chermobilsky, Yaskov Rabinovich and Fyodor Finkel (who went on hunger strike in mid-February and who recently received a refusal).

The Yuzefovich family includes Ekaterina, 33, who is in her fifth month of pregnancy, and the couple's four children: Mark, Miriam, Ilana and Ariel.

He has been consistently refused exit visas for reasons of "state secrecy," despite the fact that he never

worked with classified information during his army service, which he concluded 13 years ago. The couple has been active in teaching Hebrew, and Jewish studies to children in refusal. Ekaterina (Katya) has been separated from her parents, Evgenia and Isid Glezman, who have lived in Israel since 1976, and many other close relatives.

Tanya Edelshtein, and Natasha Ratner Magarik, the wives of the two remaining Prisoners of Zion, have issued an appeal to Yitzhak Shamir, George Shultz and Jewish leaders Edgar Bronfman and Morris Abram: "To our great disappointment, the Procurator General of the USSR hasn't kept his promise to consider our husbands' cases in two weeks. They refused to give us an answer and are just playing for time. Yuli Edelshtein and Alexei Magarik are still in prison in harsh conditions. The situation is critical. Please help."

Tanya Edelshtein returned from a one-day visit with her husband, Yuli, at his labour camp in Novosibirsk. He was recently re-hospitalized for a month, after spending seven months in hospital last year for injuries in a work accident at the camp.

The educational deputy director of political prisoners at the camp recommended that Edelshtein, 28, a Hebrew teacher, sign an appeal for clemency, but he vehemently refused.

Elena and Leonid Brailovsky—he's the son of former Prisoner of Zion Victor Brailovsky—recently were given a refusal to their request for an exit visa to Israel. Both Elena and Victor Brailovsky, who have been refuseniks since 1972, are vigorously fighting for their son's right to go to Israel.

Victor's request to visit his ailing and elderly father in Israel has been officially "postponed" on the pretext that "there are no diplomatic ties between Israel and the Soviet Union."

Dorina Paritsky, 21, the daughter of former Prisoner of Zion Alexander Paritsky and his wife Polina was also denied an exit visa because "she is the daughter of refuseniks."

APRIL 9

An official of the Ministry of Fore-

ign Affairs alluded to the Elberts today in a telephone conversation, saying that they should anticipate another refusal, which will be issued by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

The Elberts, viewing this attitude as an "unmarked attempt to destroy our family," appealed to the government and people of Israel, and Jewish communities throughout the world: "Today in the 37th day of our hunger strike, we appeal to you to take all the necessary steps to bring our son, Carmi and Lev's brother, Mikhail, to Israel."

APRIL 10

Carrying aloft banners saying "Let Our Children Go" six women, whose families have been denied exit visas on grounds of "security considerations" demonstrated outside Ovir's office in Moscow.

Irina Brailovsky, Natasha Rosenfeld, Evgenia Palanik, Elena Matkina, Nina Dikiya, and Yelena Margulies, also sent an appeal to Bronfman, Abram, and Gorbachev. The appeal said: "We have been denied exit visas on the grounds of 'regime considerations,' which never had a basis and certainly has no basis at the present time. Moreover, these regime considerations have been transferred to our children, who receive refusals of their request to immigrate to Israel because of their parents' alleged access to state secrets."

APRIL 13

Today, Natasha Ratner Magarik, wife of imprisoned Alexei Magarik, was told by an official in the office of the procurator of the USSR that her husband's sentence has been reduced by half. (Alexei, a Hebrew teacher and cellist, was arrested March 14, 1986, on fabricated charges of "possession and dissemination of drugs"—and later sentenced to a three-year term of imprisonment.)

Thus, Magarik will now qualify for release in September 1987. His case will be forwarded to the local court in Moscow, which has the option of reducing his sentence even further.

APRIL 14

Emigration statistics: 470 Jews left the Soviet Union in March.

What is his chance?

Martin Gilbert

Last week, at a Seder table in the Jerusalem suburb of Gilo, Eugenia Utevska welcomed a new immigrant family from the Soviet Union. This family, the Astrakhans, had only reached Israel the day before.

Eugenia herself, her husband, Sasha, and her sons, Moshe and Gershon, reached Jerusalem from Leningrad two-and-a-half years ago. Her first husband, Moshe's father, remains in Leningrad, still refused his exit visa.

On his father's behalf, Moshe appealed to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher before her recent visit to Moscow. His appeal read:

"I am 11 years old. I am living in Israel since 1984, but my father Leonid Rochlin is still in Leningrad. He is a refusenik, though nobody knows what are the reasons of his refusal. He never served in the Soviet Army and was never working at a 'classified' job. I correspond with my father and sometimes I speak with him on the phone. I miss him very much and I wish him to be here in Israel."

Moshe might also have mentioned that Mrs. Thatcher's immediate response to his mother's appeal from Leningrad in August 1984, when five refuseniks wrote to her for help, may have been a factor in her—and his—exit visa.

Another of those to whom Mrs. Thatcher replied in August 1984 was Yakov Gorodetsky. He too celebrated his Passover in Jerusalem, together with his wife, Polina, and their daughter Esther.

Mrs. Thatcher has now returned to London. Moshe's father remains in Leningrad. Once again, he has submitted his request to leave. What is his chance? Not yet 30 years old, he is far from well, and he is desperate to see his son.

Also in Leningrad are three former Prisoners of Zion. One of them, Eugenia Lein, has been waiting for more than four years since the end of his sentence, but is repeatedly refused his exit visa. Two others were released early from labour camp in the recent wave of releases: Vladimir Lifshits and Roald (Alik) Zelichenok. Neither has yet been allowed to come on to Israel. Even worse, on April 9 Alik Zelichenok received a refusal.

Zelichenok is the first of the recently released prisoners to have had any answer at all to his request to leave. That answer, being negative,

is a blow to all his fellow former prisoners. He is 50 years old. How much longer must he wait before he is allowed to leave?

October 1987 will see the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. It will also mark Zelichenok's 51st birthday. Can he not be in Israel by then? How much more must he suffer, he who has already languished in labour camp? His refusal is not only an ill-omen. It is also an act of injustice.

Three days after Zelichenok received his refusal, eight Jewish families reached Israel from the Soviet Union. The Astrakhans (who celebrated Passover in Jerusalem) were among them. I well remember, less than two years ago, how fearful Pavel Astrakhans was that his dream, to live in Israel, would never be fulfilled. I remember the similar fears of one of his refusenik friends, Boris Devyatov. Now he, too, is in Israel. But far too many of their friends are still refused permission to follow them (the Taratutas and the Radomyskyys who were waiting in Leningrad for more than a decade).

Imagine therefore my personal distress at the Passover cartoon by Dry Bones (one of my favourite cartoonists) who, on the day after the arrival of Pavel Astrakhans and the seven other families at Ben-Gurion Airport, showed a group of new immigrants (at Ben-Gurion itself, no doubt), one of whom says: "They parted the sea to get us out" and then adds: "But I had my heart set on Brooklyn."

What a sad distortion of the deepest aspirations of so many people, some already living in Israel, most still not allowed to leave Russia. I only hope that this particular cartoon does not cross the Iron Curtain.

At this time of raised hopes but still grey reality, the Jews of Russia need to know that Israel wants them, wants them badly, and will welcome them warmly. Surely that is the truth? Those who demonstrate with placards in Moscow and Leningrad, those on hunger strike, like Lev Elbert, of Kiev (he, too, is a former Prisoner of Zion), have set their heart on being readers of *The Jerusalem Post*, not of *The New York Times*.

New clandestine film

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — A British television production team, using the latest ultra-compact video equipment, has smuggled film out of the Soviet Union of numerous refuseniks talking openly about their experiences at the hands of the Soviet authorities. The *Jerusalem Post* was shown portions of the film, which was screened on British TV recently.

Among those interviewed were Vladimir and Maria (Masha) Slepak, who first applied for visas to Israel in June 1970; Alexander Ioffe, a scientist who, at the time of the interview, was on the 19th day of a hunger strike in support of his son's visa application; and Lazar Yusefovich, who began a hunger strike a month ago in support of his and his wife Katya's visa applications. The interviews were shot in early March. The film which was smuggled in and out of Moscow on cassettes no larger than regular music cassettes, was shot after several refuseniks had indicated that, after many years of trying to keep a low profile in the hope that they would be allowed to leave, there was no longer much point in staying quiet. Far from feeling increasingly hopeful about the emigra-

tion prospects in the "glasnost" (openness) era, many of those interviewed believed their chances of leaving had actually lessened, with the tightening of regulations on the acceptability of "invitations" from next-of-kin outside the Soviet Union.

Ioffe told the interviewer that he was fired from his position as an associate professor of mathematics after he applied to leave the Soviet Union. When he began hunger striking in support of his son Dima's bid to emigrate, however, he was called in to see his old boss, who promised to see what could be done. Shortly after the film crew left the Soviet Union, Dima Ioffe was indeed given permission to leave for Israel. He is now campaigning for his father to be allowed to follow him.

Vladimir Slepak, grey-haired and tired but smiling frequently, explained that, from running a Moscow research laboratory at the time of his visa application, he has now been reduced to working as a hospital porter, arranging for plumbers, electricians and glaziers to fix broken hospital appliances.

The Soviet Jewry page, which appears fortnightly, is edited by Louis Rapoport.

TODAY'S ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL TV

9:00 Telecast 9:05 Keep Fit 9:15 Surprise Train 9:25 The Rat 10:00 In the Night 10:20 Rock in Brighton (part 3) 10:45 Travel to the South Sea (part 4) 11:35 Portraits of Musicians—Albeniz 14:00 Telecast 14:05 Keep Fit 14:15 Calamity Jane. Film, starring Jane Alexander. 18:00 Robotiki 18:05 The Demjanjuk Trial 17:00 A New Evening—live magazine

ISRAELI TV

CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES
17:30 News for Young Children
18:00 Mr. Belvedere—comedy series
18:25 Weekly Language Corner, introduced by Avshalom Kor
ARABIC LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES
18:30 News roundup
18:35 Easter programme
19:30 News
HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at
20:00 with a news roundup
20:02 No Place Like Home—British comedy series
20:30 Documentary on Flying
21:00 Mabat Newsline
21:40 Second Look—focus on matters of moment
22:20 The Thorn Birds. Part 5 of a 10-part American serial based on the novel by Colleen McCullough, starring Richard Chamberlain and Rachel Ward
23:10 Benny Hill—British comedy series
23:40 News

JORDAN TV (unofficial)

17:30 Cartoons 18:00 French Hour 19:30 News in Hebrew 20:00 News in Arabic 20:30 You Again? 21:10 Yesterday's Dreams 22:00 News in English 22:20 Bergerac

MIDDLE EAST TV

14:00 Another Life 15:00 700 Club 15:30 Shape-Up 16:00 Afternoon Movie: Tycoon 17:30 Muppet Babies 18:00 Flying Home 19:30 Muppets 19:30 Star Trek 20:00 News 21:00 The A-Team 22:00 MacGyver 23:00 Airtel 24:00 700 Club

RADIO

VOICE OF MUSIC

6:02 Morning Melodies 7:00 Reggae: Serenade for Flute, Violin and Viola; Homecoming Concert for 4 Horns Op. 38; Bach: Concerto for Organ in C major; Mozart: Symphony No. 39 (Chicago/Solo); F. Strauss: 3 Quarters for Horns 8:00 Beethoven: "Leonore" Overture No. 3; Brahms: Sonata for Violin and Piano Op. 120 No. 2 (Zukerman, Barenboim); Tchaikovsky: Variations for Piano; Schumann: Piano Quintet in E-flat major; Chopin: Nocturne Op. 9, No. 3; Debussy: Clair de Lune; Prokofiev: Piano Concerto No. 3; Ravel: Bolero; Liszt: Les Preludes 15:00 Young

ARMY TWO

19:05 Radio Radio—with Yosef Kutner 20:05 Information, regards and radio games for soldiers on duty 22:05 Popular songs 23:05 All That Jazz

ARMY

6:05 University on the Air 6:30 Open Your Eyes—songs, information 7:07 "707"—with Eitan Lifshitz 8:00 Good Morning Israel 9:05 In the Morning—with Eli Yarseli 10:05 Coffee Break—with Michael Niv 11:05 Right Now—with Rafi Reicher 13:05 Good Place in the Centre 15:05 What's Doing—with Erez Tal 16:05 84 Travels North 16:18 Four in the Afternoon 17:00 Evening Newsline 18:05 Economics Magazine 19:05 Hebrew Songs 20:05 Life goes on (repeat) 20:40 Songs of IDF Troops 21:00 Mabat—TV newsline 21:30 University on the Air 22:05 Popular songs 23:05 The 24th Hour 00:05 Night Birds—songs, chat

RADIO 2nd

6:12 Gymnastics 6:30 Editorial Review 6:55 Green Light drivers' corner 7:00 This Morning—news magazine 8:05 Making an Issue 9:05 Children's programme 10:05 All Shades of the Network—morning magazine 11:30 Safe Journey 12:10 The Mimouna Celebrations 13:00 Midday—news commentary, music 14:05 Culture and Arts Magazine 14:30 The Mimouna Celebrations 16:05 Hebrew songs 17:05 Economics Magazine 18:05 Health and Medicine Magazine 18:45 Today in Sport 19:00 Today—radio newsline 19:35 New World—environment magazine 20:05 Cantoriki Requests 22:05 Once More 23:05 Outlets

RADIO 1st

6:05 Programmes for Olim 7:30 Programme in Easy Hebrew 8:05 Compass—with Benny Hendel 8:27 The Demjanjuk Trial 13:05 Hebrew Songs 13:30 News in French 13:45 News in English 14:05 Children's programme 15:27 Education for all 15:57 The Demjanjuk Trial 19:05 Lesson in Talmud 19:20 Bible Reading 19:30 Programmes for Olim 22:05 Two by Two

RADIO 3rd

6:12 Gymnastics 6:30 Editorial Review 6:55 Green Light drivers' corner 7:00 This Morning—news magazine 8:05 Making an Issue 9:05 Children's programme 10:05 All Shades of the Network—morning magazine 11:30 Safe Journey 12:10 The Mimouna Celebrations 13:00 Midday—news commentary, music 14:05 Culture and Arts Magazine 14:30 The Mimouna Celebrations 16:05 Hebrew songs 17:05 Economics Magazine 18:05 Health and Medicine Magazine 18:45 Today in Sport 19:00 Today—radio newsline 19:35 New World—environment magazine 20:05 Cantoriki Requests 22:05 Once More 23:05 Outlets

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THE VOICE OF PEACE

Regular daily programme 2:00-6:00 Nightline 15:00-16:00 Kessah Programme 18:00-19:00 Twilight Time 19:30-21:00 Classical Music

CINEMA

JERUSALEM

Bel Agnon: Lassie Come home 10; Chitty Chitty Bang Bang 11:30; The Sound of Music 2:5; Love and Death 8:15; Spies Like Us 10; "Music Concorde"—Dowland 14:00 From the Record Shelf 19:00 Arias from Italian Operas 20:05 Musical Medley 20:30 New England Conservatory Orchestra under Benjamin Zander with Gideon Rubin, piano—Weber: "Euryanthe"; Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3; Dvorak: "From the New World"; Symphony 22:30 Jazz Classics 23:00 Bach: Rite Sonatas; Schumann: Works for Piano

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WHAT'S ON

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JERUSALEM

MUSEUMS
ISRAELI MUSEUM. Exhibitions: Designs submitted in the 1986 competition for Supreme Court Building (of Honore Daumier, Amman Hammer Collection); 9 News in Antiquities 87 (of Gorovoy Donation, Mid-19th Century Photographs of the human form (of Streichenman, oils, 1940-today (of Tamara Rikman, the Soviet Shura); 9 Paintings by Felix Nussbaum, Jewish artist who died in the Holocaust (of New York Now, 6 new generation artists (of Ancient Glass, latest acquisitions (of the American Archaeology, Judaica,

10

Nissim wants firm shut

Cabinet to discuss Beit Shemesh today

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The cabinet is due to discuss today a proposal to transfer Beit Shemesh Engines to industrialist Stef Wertheimer in an effort to save the debt-ridden plant. The plan, however, faces tough opposition from Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, who wants to close down the state-owned company.

A special ministerial panel failed to reach an accord on the issue when they met on Sunday. Three of them, Vice Premier Shimon Peres, Economics Minister Gad Yacobi and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens, supported a proposal drafted by Giora Gazit to transfer control of Beit Shemesh to Wertheimer. However, Nissim said the plan would cost the taxpayer NIS 180 million.

Gazit had been requested by the panel some months ago to study the possibility of transferring Beit Shemesh to private hands.

Wertheimer has agreed to take over the company on condition that the government pays Beit Shemesh's nearly \$80m. in debts and that he be allowed to dismiss some 220 work-

ers, almost a third of the plant's work-force. He also conditioned his agreement on the Defence Ministry's pledge to place monthly orders with the firm worth \$20m.

Nissim's opposition made it necessary to refer the issue to the cabinet. The minister is due to leave for South America tomorrow, and this made it necessary to include Gazit's proposal on the cabinet's agenda today. He told the ministerial panel that closing down the firm would cost NIS 60 million.

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin has already declared that his ministry cannot place orders larger than \$10m. a month with Beit Shemesh. He has said that from the Defence Ministry's point of view there is no need for Beit Shemesh to continue operations.

But other ministers are not convinced that the engine-maker should be closed down. Yacobi said during the debate that the cost of such a move would be much larger than estimated by the Treasury. He said the government will have to honour the company's debts to the commercial banks and this, together with severance payments, would boost the cost of closing down the plant.

Bad impression

Insurer is chided for Van Gogh purchase

TOKYO. - The president of Yasuda Fire and Marine Insurance Co. which paid a world record \$36.2 million for Van Gogh's "Sunflowers" has been personally chastised by Japan's powerful Finance Ministry for "imprudent" waste of company funds.

Only hours after Christie's in London revealed the identity of the mysterious buyer, Yasuda's president Yasuo Goto faced an inquiry by the director-general of the ministry's banking bureau. The company says Goto was "summoned," while the ministry claims he "volunteered to come and explain."

Goto was first told that to have paid such a huge sum for a work of art was "not desirable" at a time of rampant speculation in Japanese land and stocks as it would fuel an

inflationary psychology. He was next rebuked for encouraging anti-Japanese feeling abroad by drawing further attention to the huge resources of Japanese institutions, which increasingly dominate the world money markets. Goto was lastly warned of drawing public censure of Yasuda's excessive profits, and informed it was "financially imprudent for an insurance company to purchase such an expensive work of art." The president of Japan's second biggest non-life insurance company, with over \$9 billion in assets, meekly promised the director-general not to repeat his extravagance and withdrew from the grilling.

Yasuda Marine and Fire official Yoshiro Kori later claimed that his company had become the innocent victim of the current war of nerves caused by international envy and resentment at Japan's success. For Yasuda's centenary in October 1988 the board of directors was looking for a star attraction for its corporate art gallery, and Van Gogh happened to paint the now universally known "Sunflowers" at roughly the same time the company was founded. The painting \$36.2m. which Van Gogh once thought could sell for \$75 will be exhibited on the 42 floor of Yasuda's headquarters in Tokyo's West Shinjuku.

The company's recent abandonment of fiscal austerity in favour of a Croesus splurge on fine art has, official Kori admits, been abetted by the dramatically increased foreign purchasing power of the high yen. "Now we're rich," says president Goto, and Japan can afford to reverse the exodus of art from its shores that occurred at the end of the last century and in the poverty of the post-war years.

Finance Ministry figures already reveal paintings worth roughly \$300m. were imported into Japan last year, plus another \$75 m. in the first two months of this year ("Sunflowers" of course, has yet to be included.)

Last month a Japanese dealer paid \$1.32m. for a Swedish historical painting too large to fit into Sotheby's London auction room. Christie's sold eight out of 11 mostly Impressionist paintings "tailor made for Japanese tastes" from the collection of the late West German meat trade tycoon Hans Schroder to Japanese bidders after a Tokyo preview. Two months before, Tokyo's Bridgestone Tire Ltd.'s company museum paid the local Wildenstein \$1.05m. for Renoir's famous "Mlle Georgette Charpentier assise" to add to its already prodigious Impressionist collection. The little known suburban Marauichi Art Museum recently acquired Millet's "Antoinette Herbert Looking in the Mirror" for nearly \$1m. The

Japanese prefer impressionists. While European painters were deeply influenced by Japanese *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints (before going to Aries in 1888 Van Gogh said he wanted to experience "the Japanese way of feeling and drawing"), the first Japanese scholarship artists sent to France 100 years ago after the shogun's overthrow sowed the seeds of the abiding Japanese passion for French art of the period.

Many of the new Japanese customers at Christie's are what she terms *nouveaux riches* first-time buyers fulfilling a "rite of passage," or seeking a safe haven from the prying taxman. Staff at Mitsukoshi department store's fine art gallery have become used to real estate brokers with sudden fortunes from soaring land prices saying, "I want to buy a painting for 20 million yen right away." Gallery director Akio Nishino does such a roaring trade in Chagalls, Millers and Impressionists - some priced at over \$1.5m - he says he "can't remember" the names of the paintings sold.

To the amazement of seasoned Tokyo dealers, hitherto unknown provincial museums have joined the yen buying spree to boost their reputation. The prefecture of Tokushima, on the economically backward island of Shikoku, recently added to a Picasso bought earlier this year a \$900,000 Henry Moore sculpture. A municipal museum in Nagoya that is not due to open until 1988 paid \$2.3 m. for Modigliani's "Girl with Pigtail." "They were passed over to host the Olympic Games, so this is some sort of compensation," sniffed Christie's Hibiya. (London Observer Service)

Tokyo tries to keep lid on trade spat

TOKYO. - Japanese officials appeared to be doing their best to cool trade tensions with the U.S. in the wake of Washington's imposition of stiff countervailing duties against Japan's electronics exports. But American officials passing through the Japanese capital in recent days made clear they wanted to see more concessions from Tokyo before the threat of trade war could subside.

Talks between special Japanese envoy Shintaro Abe began in Washington yesterday with top U.S. officials in what sources called a tense atmosphere.

The Japanese government on Sunday termed the \$300 million in sanctions imposed by the U.S. on Friday as "lamentable." But Tokyo ruled

out any prompt retaliatory measures, saying it did not want to exacerbate its already tense relations with the U.S.

But U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter, in the Japanese capital for talks with officials, reiterated Washington's demand that Japan stimulate its domestic markets, saying Tokyo had offered more promises than action on the matter until now.

Thomas Foley, the U.S. House of Representatives' majority leader, also in Tokyo, warned that a bill forcing other countries to cut their trade surpluses with the U.S. was very likely to be approved by the House next week. "I do not intend to support the Gephardt amendment [to the trade bill] myself, but I be-

lieve that a majority of the House will support it," he said.

The proposed amendment by Richard Gephardt, Democrat of Mississippi, would enforce a 10 per cent a year reduction in the trade surpluses of those nations involved. Countries would be targeted under a formula taking into account the size of the surplus and the length of time the trade imbalance had persisted.

Yeutter meanwhile told Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari that Japan should increase imports from the rest of the world and, in particular, from the U.S. and developing nations. He also said Japan needed to change its economic structure to promote imports.

Kuranari agreed that these points must be pursued.

BANKING ON IT/Pinhas Landau

The real news at Hapoalim

Tomorrow Bank Hapoalim will announce its financial results for 1986. These are expected to show Hapoalim as both the biggest Israeli bank, in terms of total assets, and the most profitable, in terms of absolute net profits. However, if expectations of total profits of \$15 million-\$20m. are realized and this sum does indeed prove larger than that Bank Leumi announces next week, it will still not be a big deal.

In fact, neither the absolute size of the bank, nor the minuscule return on capital which it achieved in 1986, are anything to boast about. Size as a criterion for success is passe, both in Israel and around the world, and the profits of Hapoalim and all the big banks will have to be vastly greater before they become anything to boast about.

Hapoalim's results will also be the first presented by the bank's new chief executive officer - or chairman of the management board, as they call it at Hapoalim - Amiran Sivan. In fact, it was a year ago today that Giora Gazit resigned from that post, the day after the publication of the Bejski report. It didn't take long for Hapoalim's board, chaired by Eitan Berglas, and its

The great irony today is that Hapoalim has finally achieved former chairman Ya'acov Levinson's cherished target of becoming larger than Leumi, but at a time when nobody believes anymore in sheer size as the measure of strength.

main shareholder, Hevrat Ha'ovdim, chaired by Yisrael Kessar, to decide that Sivan should move from the Te'us Development Areas Ltd., the labour federation's company, to the Histadrut's bank. By late May of last year, Sivan was firmly in the saddle.

What has happened to Bank Hapoalim since then is far more interesting than the figures that Sivan will present tomorrow. It would hardly be an exaggeration to call the development of the bank in that time a revolution. The slogan of "the quiet revolution" is still well-remembered in Israeli banking history, because it was the calling-card whereby the late Ya'acov Levinson to a large measure succeeded in turning the backward bank into the most dynamic, thrusting force in the Israeli financial scene. But Levinson's quiet revolution, like his later slogan "come grow with us," turned sour along with the economy of the country in the later 1970s. The rest, including the development of the bank share "regulation" system and Levinson's personal downfall, is history.

The great irony today is that Hapoalim has finally achieved Levinson's cherished target of becoming larger than Leumi, but at a time when nobody believes anymore in sheer size as the measure of strength. All the banks are shrinking, in staff, branches, range of activities and in general macroeconomic importance. The thing that tipped the scales to make Hapoalim No.1 was fixed exchange rates, which eroded dollar assets, something Hapoalim has less of by far than Leumi.

Sivan's quiet revolution is so quiet that it hasn't been formally graced with a slogan of its own, but it is probably more far-reaching than anything Hapoalim has known before. It aims to change the bank's structure and operating methods, and even its very business philosophy.

Take, for example, the laconic press release from Hapoalim a few weeks ago, in which it announced that Sivan had completed the installation of a "new and far-reaching approach" in delegation of authority within the bank. The news received very minor attention, certainly far less than will be attracted by whatever number Sivan pulls out of his hat for tomorrow's press conference. But that announcement (and one or two others that preceded it) is indeed much more far-reaching than the few millions of shekels the bank will have salvaged from the disastrous year of 1986. What little profit was made last year went to pump up the provisions needed to cover mountains of bad debts in agriculture, construction and the other areas where bad management and bad banking joined to create an almighty mess.

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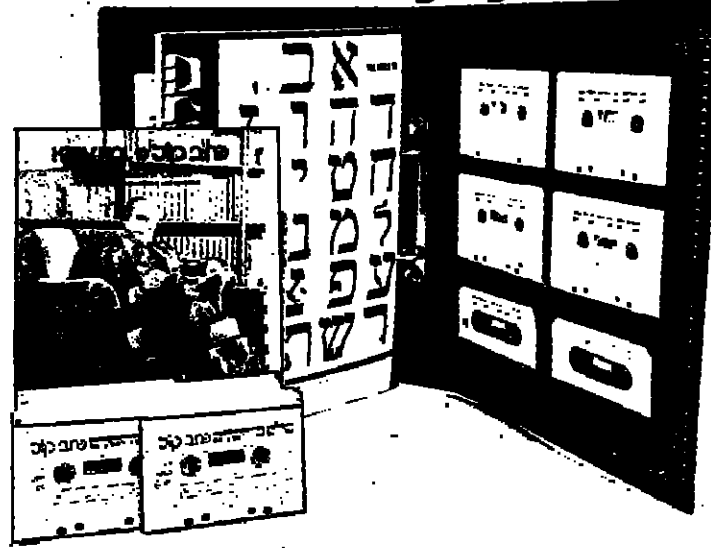
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Israel Money Markets

Shekel Deposits (annual rates)				
Bank	Deposit	Tapas	7 days	14 days
Leumi (Apr. 9)	500-999	10.00	11.00	12.00
	1,000-9,999	21.25	21.75	22.00
	10,000-49,999	22.75	23.25	24.00
	50,000+	23.25	23.75	24.50
Hapoalim (Mar. 27)	Up to 999	10.00	11.00	12.00
	1,000-9,999	21.00	21.50	22.00
	10,000-49,999	22.50	23.00	23.50
	50,000+	23.00	23.50	24.00
Discount (Apr. 9)	40-999	10.00	11.00	12.00
	1,000-9,999	21.00	21.50	22.00
	10,000-49,999	22.00	22.50	23.00
	50,001-99,999	23.00	23.50	24.00
Mizrahi	40-999	10.00	11.00	12.00
	1,001-2,999	21.00	21.50	22.00
	3,000-5,000	22.00	22.50	23.00
	5,001-10,000	23.00	23.50	24.00
First Intl (April 8)	1,000-4,999	17.00	18.10	19.10
	5,000-9,999	22.00	23.10	24.10
	10,000-49,999	23.00	24.10	25.10
	50,000+	24.00	25.10	26.10

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates (April 16)				
CURRENCIES AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rate
Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
Currency basket	1.6720	1.6530	1.63	1.6030
U.S. dollar	1.5811	1.5139	1.56	1.5312
Deutsche mark	0.8773	0.8882	0.86	0.8832
Pound sterling	2.5912	2.6294	2.53	2.6076
French franc	0.2637	0.2670	0.26	0.2654
Japanese yen (100)	1.1144	1.1282	1.09	1.1214
Dutch florin	0.7784	0.7880	0.76	0.7687
Swiss franc	1.0648	1.0781	1.04	1.0708
Swedish krona	0.2524	0.2556	0.25	0.2538
Norwegian krone	0.2340	0.2368	0.23	0.2348
Danish krone	0.2239	0.2265	0.22	0.2248
Finnish mark	0.3811	0.3855	0.38	0.3830
Canadian dollar	1.2087	1.2217	1.18	1.2126
Australian dollar	1.1320	1.1523	1.11	1.1326
S. African rand	0.7823	0.8021	0.51	0.7989
Belgian franc (100)	0.4221	0.4273	0.41	0.4161
Austrian schilling	1.2489	1.2644	1.22	1.2425
Italian lira (1000)	1.2310	1.2463	1.20	1.2287
Jordanian dinar	—	—	4.47	4.74
Egyptian pound	—	—	0.65	0.7555
ECU	1.8244	1.8471	1.05	1.2359
Irish punt	2.2449	2.2740	1.05	1.2359
Spanish peseta (100)	2.3522	2.3678	1.21	1.2359

Foreign Markets

EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS (April 20)

Foreign Currency Crossrates (London 15:30 GMT)

Forward rates	Spot	3 months	6 months	12 months
Pound sterling	1.6290/00	119/110	208/203	330/323
Deutsche mark	1.8105/15	123/128	209/204	360/356
Swiss franc	1.4850/65	120/115	232/225	480/465
Dutch florin	2.0425/40	78/73	156/148	370/355
Japanese yen (100)	6.0225/25	165/110	375/425	690/710
Japanese yen (100)	142.85/95	101/96	202/192	440/420
Italian lira (1000)	1291.0/2.0	60/50	140/130	300/280
Belgian franc (100)	37.32/37	—	—	—
Canadian dollar	1.3180/90	20/23	58/61	100/115
ECU	1.4657/75	62	10/10	—
S. African rand	0.8975/85	20/10	19/12	31/21
Austrian schilling	12.75/77	8/7	—	—
Swedish krona	6.3050/50	425/455	825/875	1550/1700
Norwegian krone	8.7700/00	1250/1350	2525/2625	4750/4850
Danish krone	6.5500/00	580/630	1075/1125	2100/2400

NEW YORK FINANCIAL MARKETS (April 20)

U.S. Money Rates

Prime rate	7.75%	Fed funds rate	6.75%
Broker loan	7.5%	Long-term bond	9.0% - 12.0%
NY Euro (3 months)	6.75-7.0%	Discount rate	5.5%

New York Foreign Exchange

	DMK	SFR	STG	YEN	CAN
Prev closing	1.8125/35	1.4860/70	1.6300/10	143.00/10	1.3195/00
Opening	1.8150/60	1.4855/65	1.6255/65	143.00/10	1.3145/50
Lowest	1.8055/65	1.4850/70	1.6237/47	142.10/20	1.3175/84

Comment: The dollar fell to the day's lowest levels yesterday in extremely thin trading after the closure of the Chicago futures market. Although underlying sentiment remains bearish, most market participants linked the sudden decline to technical factors rather than any fundamental pressure.

Precious Metals

	Spot	100 oz	Silver	Spot	100 oz
Gold	453.55	452.50	7.64	7.64	7.64

Wall Street (Prices as of 15:00 EST)

DJ Industrials	2,269.38	-6.10	GCA CP	92	+12
DJ Transport	926.30	-2.21	East Kodak	75	+14
DJ Utility	2,269.34	-0.17	Remade Int	914	+11
65 stocks	648.59	-0.53	IBM	14974	-1
NYSE Comp	1,824.04	-0.35	Tesco	3014	-1
NASDAQ Fin	508.82	-1.58	ATT	247	-1
NYSE Inds	1,984.57	-0.58	Santa Fe	394	+2
S-P 100 Index	2,269.10	-0.38	BellSouth	38	+7
S-P Comp	2,265.33	-1.08	STD Oil Co	7072	-1
S&P OTC 250	2,633.93	-1.71	Digital	15874	+2

Statistics	NYSE volume	136,126,800	NASDAQ Volume	145,876,200
Stocks up	491	775	Stocks up	1389
Stocks down	—	—	Stocks down	1043

Comment: Wall Street stocks inched lower in extremely light trading. Traders said yesterday's generally positive earnings reports failed to encourage investors from the sidelines as concerns about the dollar and interest rates weighed on investor sentiment.

Ramada gained one to nine after investor Paul Blizard requested a meeting with the company and disclosed he held a 4 per cent stake in the hotel group.

Israeli Stocks Traded in New York

Alliance					
Am tar Pep	27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	27 1/2	4
Ampel	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	25
Camel Cont	8	8	8	7 1/2	10
Eladint	1 1/2	1 1/2	2	1 1/2	28
Elz Lavud					
Laser Inds	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	51
Over-the-Counter					
Avyt	Last	Bid	Ask	Last	Bid
Bank Leumi		7	7 1/2	Interpharm	4 1/2
Elit				Opensuch	4
ECI Tel	11 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2	Rada	10 1/2
Elron	5 1/2	5 1/2	5 1/2	Schach	3 1/2
Fluorocor	7 1/2	7 1/2	7 1/2	Two-Vit	3 1/2
IDB	4	3 3/4	4	Teva Pharm	10 1/2
IS				SPI	3 1/2

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Change of the guard

THE change of guard at the pinnacle of Israel's army is never routine. National defence was always and remains today the country's top priority. Little wonder, therefore, that the identity of the Chief of Staff has throughout Israel's history been a subject of keen popular interest and scrutiny. Half the list of former chiefs of staff capitalized on this public acclaim by entering politics.

But the public's capacity to judge a chief of staff's performance remains limited. Popular judgments of politicians commonly derive from what they say; judgment of a general, must derive from what he does. And this, by its very essence, remains largely shielded from public view.

This is especially true in the case of a chief of staff, like Moshe Levi, who was spared the awesome task of presiding over a war. As Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin indicated at the ceremony installing Levi's successor, Dan Shomron, the outgoing chief of staff's signal achievement was presiding over the army's extrication from the residues of war in Lebanon.

Beyond that, Levi's juggling of army needs, army preparedness, army development against a constantly declining military budget no doubt required brave and difficult decisions, but of a kind not given to public appraisal.

Yet at the same time, and despite a certain noble reticence of bearing, the outgoing chief of staff found himself, toward the end of his term, in virtual public conflict with the defence minister and with some of his generals.

He openly resisted the appointment of his successor, and took the exceptional step of lobbying against it with the Prime Minister. And before that he pushed through a series of command appointments that were in part designed to block Shomron.

He also embarrassed the defence minister by approving the promotion and new appointment of the Air Force's Aviem Sela, implicated in the Pollard affair, and the ceremony that went with it, without consulting Mr. Rabin.

In Israel's early years such collisions within the defence establishment would have remained outside public view. But the army, especially after 1973, is no longer so insulated. It is a fit subject of public criticism and scrutiny—limited by security considerations, but fit.

As in the case of any large organization, such scrutiny has benefits. But it also has costs. One of the biggest such costs is the opportunity it offers the players to try to wield the media and public opinion on behalf of their personal or factional goals. This intensifies partisanship, lending it some of the features, though qualified, of public politics.

By his own actions, though not by design, Rav Aluf Levi furthered this process which is inimical to a hierarchical body like the army, for it erodes authority. And thus, towards the end, he found the tiger more difficult to ride.

Rav Aluf Shomron's first task, therefore, will be to restore coherence and then get on with the task, begun by Levi, of shaping the army to address the battlefield of the future, within the economic constraints imposed on the country.

He will also have to establish a smooth working relationship with Mr. Rabin, who as a former chief of staff, is inclined to give wide latitude to the serving chief, yet has distinct ideas of his own.

With his notable military record to sustain him, he can now get on with the job for which he has been groomed.

ARAFAT

(Continued from Page One)

another militant demand: that the PLO break all links with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak because of Egypt's peace treaty with Israel.

Habash said that according to a compromise agreement, "there will be no official link between the PLO and the Egyptian regime until the cancellation of the Camp David peace treaty."

"But relations with the Egyptian masses and nationalist fronts in Egypt will continue."

Habash said that Arafat's own personal relationship with President Hosni Mubarak would be dictated by the PLO's Executive Committee, which will be elected during the PNC meeting.

"We would have preferred a clearer decision on the issue. But the compromise is sufficient as a base from which we can move forward," said Habash.

No compromise, however, was reached with the Libyan-backed Abu Nidal faction, which had insisted on Arafat's ouster.

Abu Nidal's representatives left Algiers after declaring that they were walking out of the PNC meeting because of the PLO's refusal to "restrict the unlimited prerogatives" Arafat enjoyed in setting policy.

Abu Nidal claimed responsibility for the bloody terrorist attacks at Rome and Vienna airports in December, 1985.

Two other Syrian-backed factions led by Abu Moussa and Ahmed Jibril also boycotted the PNC meeting. In Damascus, leaders of the Syrian-backed Palestine National Salvation Front (PNSF), a coalition of anti-Arafat factions, denied statements by Habash that the PNSF had been dissolved.

New PNC chairman, Sheikh Abdul Hamid Sayeh, meanwhile, warned that the PLO would not accept any outsiders meddling in its affairs.

That was an apparent reference to Syrian President Hafez Assad, and to Syrian attempts to seize control of the Palestinian movement.

In Amman, Jordanian authorities had no official comment on Arafat's announcement abrogating the Amman accord. But one senior Jordanian official said the move would not alter Jordan's policy for Middle East peace or its campaign for a UN-sponsored peace conference with PLO participation.

Another reliable source said Jordan would reaffirm its support for the PLO in a statement likely to be released at the close of the five-day PNC meeting. The statement would stress that the PLO must be associated with any peace process, including an international conference.

In Cairo, a government-controlled radio station warned the PNC in a commentary against any rapprochement with Syria, "because Damascus only wants to dominate all the Palestinian affairs."

The commentator said Damascus wanted to close the door to "independent Palestinian decision-making," and to stymie the movement's flexibility "in order to return the Palestinian cause to the refrigerator of a stalemate."

In Algiers, Habash told a Radio Monte Carlo correspondent that the PNC meeting consolidating Palestinian unity was "a very positive" development.

Hani al-Hassan, Arafat's political adviser, said "a new era has started in the process of our revolution."

There's no monopoly on moral values

Raviv Schwartz

THE CALL for dialogue with secular humanistic Jews, by Rabbi Aryeh Carmell (*The Jerusalem Post*, March 24, 1987) demonstrates an unwillingness to comprehend the foundations of secular humanistic Judaism. Whereas his intentions appear to be sincere, his notion of dialogue, like many of those he purports to represent, can be understood as, "Let me tell you about me and then I'll tell you about you."

Secular humanistic Judaism (SHJ) is anything but "rootless humanism." Humanistic Judaism in fact, constitutes a synthesis between a national/cultural (particularist) identity and the (universalist) vision of human dignity and potential. Underlying this is the conviction that one may be firmly anchored in one's own national and historical waters

without drowning in them. Rabbi Carmell, evidently disturbed by the eclectic cultural fabric of modern Israel, implies that an authentically Jewish society is one completely unfettered by outside influences.

SHJ rejects this static and inherently chauvinistic conception of the Jewish experience. It was Martin Buber who observed that the two most "Jewish" enclaves anywhere in the world were Mea She'arim and the Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz. Indeed the ever-present dialectic within Judaism (fundamentalism/humanism) is accurately portrayed by the juxtaposition of these two antithetical models of Jewish living.

"Eliminating God effectively climaxes man as a free and spiritual being," Rabbi Carmell says. He continues, "...only people who in some sense hear the voice of God have values which are not subject to human whims." The moral absolutism that this kind of belief in God affords, however, was very often behind the constant killing and suffering which has characterized so much of human history. Today too, the forces of religious fundamentalism throughout the world inevitably take moral absolutism to its natural conclusion. In Israel fortunately, the manifestations of religious fundamentalism have been comparatively non-violent.

My point is not that religion is necessarily intolerant or anti-human, but rather that as long as it is

applied by human beings, it is no less subject to human whims than any other ideology.

No, Rabbi Carmell, belief in a divine creator does not *ipso facto* grant its beholder a "moral compass" nor is it a prerequisite for spiritual fulfillment. One need only watch *Mabat* every evening to see that. Humanism acknowledges the plurality of truths. It sees in man the potential to do good and "hallows" the energy and the diversity of the human spirit. No belief system therefore, has a monopoly on moral values, neither religion nor secularism.

Believers in secular humanistic Judaism are urged to abandon their humanism, and are reminded that, "Jews are, or used to be, a realistic

people." Well, if Jewish realism meant lingering in exile waiting for the Messiah to restore Jewish national sovereignty, I would sooner have the Jewish fantasy of Zimam's secular founding fathers who did not "hear the voice of God" to which Rabbi Carmell refers, but created the very state in which he and I are presently debating.

If the Orthodox are truly interested in a dialogue between secular humanistic Judaism and Orthodoxy, I would suggest they make an honest attempt to understand what secular humanistic Judaism is, and to understand what a dialogue is.

The writer, a student at Bar-Ilan University, is coordinator of the Israel Association for Secular Humanistic Judaism.

Sometimes for the good of all, we must cry 'forbidden'

Simcha Bar-David
writes about the
commitment of
converting to Judaism

I UNDERSTOOD Shoshana Miller's struggle and I sympathized with the emotional upheaval involved in her case. I am also a convert to Judaism, also inspired by the special quality of a particular person whose delight in being alive was obviously a product of his Jewish heritage. Also, like Ms. Miller, I did not convert in order to marry, but from a very real love of Judaism itself, and a genuine attachment to the Jewish people.

It is not easy being Jewish in Houston, Texas, and even more difficult for someone raised as a Southern Baptist to convert to Judaism, even at an age (30) when she presumably has enough maturity to know her own mind. I was repeatedly turned away by both Orthodox and Conservative rabbis, who only wanted to know, "Who is your Jewish boyfriend?" No one would take me seriously, except a very young Reform, assistant rabbi, who I think finally admitted me to his conversion class so I would stop pestering him. He finally began to take me seriously when I not only came to class without a Jewish boyfriend, but continued through the entire course, including the mandatory psychological counselling, another discouraging interview, to the very moving ceremony at the end, when I was handed a Sefer Torah, and told that this was now mine as part of the heritage of the Jewish people.

But my appetite for learning all I could about my new heritage was now whetted, and I literally devoured every book on Jews, Jewish history, and Judaism that I could find—from Arthur Koestler to Maimonides—and asked questions and talked to anyone who would listen to me and answer my questions. I began to practise (very gradually) some of those medieval rituals, like candle-lighting on Friday night.

I was emotionally devastated when I came to realize that being a Jew, a real one, is more than taking on a Jewish name and receiving a "diploma" from a Reform conversion class. Being a Jew is even more than commitment to Judaism or to the state of Israel. Being a Jew means becoming a part of a people and acceptance by them, *all of them*.

After very intensive soul-searching (do I really want to go through all this again?), in order to gain that acceptance, and after even more discouragement and questions about the still-nonexistent Jewish boyfriend, I came before a Beit Din, somehow managed to satisfy them of my sincerity, and underwent another conversion including the renunciation of my church beliefs and verbal and written commitment to Judaism, even immersion in a mikve. I did not receive an ornate certificate this time, but only a letter, on the synagogue letterhead, containing the bare facts of my conversion, signed by the three members of the *beit din*.

I felt the only place to be complete as a Jew was in Israel. This is our land, not only in the sense of a political entity, and we belong here. My rabbi arranged for me to continue learning at an informal seminary for women in Jerusalem, especially for those who, like me, are interested in their Jewish heritage but lack a thorough Jewish education. The teachers and rabbis there were more than willing to answer my questions and satisfy my thirst for knowledge in a casual yet structured environment.

THEN CAME the staggering blow. It was gently but strongly suggested to me that my conversion might be questioned, even though it was conducted according to the formal requirements of Jewish law. The problem was, of course, that although the rabbi was personally Orthodox, the synagogue itself was not, and it was the synagogue which officially sanctioned my conversion. Of course, only the most Orthodox of Jews would refuse to accept the conversion (I had by now ceased to think of their coats as "funny-looking"), but it was important to me to be accepted by *all* of my people.

Yes, my personal integrity and that of my rabbi was undermined. My pride was shattered. All that work, that struggle, to become Jewish was as nothing. But I came to realize that my own integrity, my own pride, was not as important as that of the Jewish people, and my love of myself and what I had become through so much hard work and sacrifice, was small compared to

my love of Judaism. So a discreet ceremony was held at the mikve in Kiryat Mattersdorf, after which I received a few handwritten words on a sheet of paper torn from a child's notebook. It is upon this scrap of paper that I rely when I declare myself to be a Jew.

I do not regard my religion as a political question, to be settled in a court of law. It is a religious question, to be determined by religious leaders including Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz. I respect them and their knowledge of who and what is a Jew. Sometimes, for the good of all, we must cry "forbidden"—for if everything is permitted, we cease to be unique and we lose what keeps us a separate and special people.

It is true that every Jew, whatever he believes and however he sees himself, is a part of *Clal Yisrael*. The rub, of course, is that only Jews belong, and in order to enter this community, an outsider must first accept *all* the rules, not only those he feels are important. Being a Jew is more than speaking Hebrew or living in Israel. It is a real commitment of one's very soul to a philosophy and a way of life. When that commitment is made and the rules followed, then, and only then, is the principle of *Ahava Yisrael* applicable.

The writer lives in Ramatana.

READERS' LETTERS

TACTICS VERSUS STRATEGY

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir.—The Pollard disaster, Iranian arms shipment, and resistance to USSR involvement in discussions to structure an agreement to end nation-to-nation violence are examples of perceived tactical needs overriding the strategic reality of what helps determine the quality of life in Israel.

Israel's survival and quality of life, in part, depend on the goodwill and support of the U.S. Congress. The Congress votes the money Israel receives for military and economic aid.

Thousands of Jews have been killed since 1967 by Arabs equipped with Soviet bloc weapons, trained by Soviet bloc instructors, and accompanied into battle by Soviet advisers. Russia will not reduce its shipments of weapons to Arab nations until it becomes a partner in the creation of a Middle East agreement.

The arms shipment to Iran, the Pollard spy scandal, and the position of South African sanctions resulted in qualitative and quantitative changes for the worse of Israel's image to the American people.

Let's not become complacent when relations between the U.S. and Israel seem to be getting better as the 1988 elections approach. After the U.S. 1988 presidential election and, in particular, if there is a recession, the U.S. Congress will distance itself from Israel.

The self-interest of Jews everywhere requires Israeli leaders to demonstrate that they understand the differences between tactics and strategy and act accordingly.

PERRY WINOKUR
Evanston, Illinois.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir.—Cruelty to animals is a subject frequently aired in your paper. The latest of such stories appeared in *Postscripts* of March 30 and concerned—of all animals—frogs.

It seems that nobody has yet taken exception to what probably is the most revolting manifestation of cruelty to an innocuous animal. I speak of the humble goose whose liver is so much appreciated by gourmets.

EMILIO TRAUBNER
Tel Aviv.

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CARYL BULMER
Editor, *Seven Gates*
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